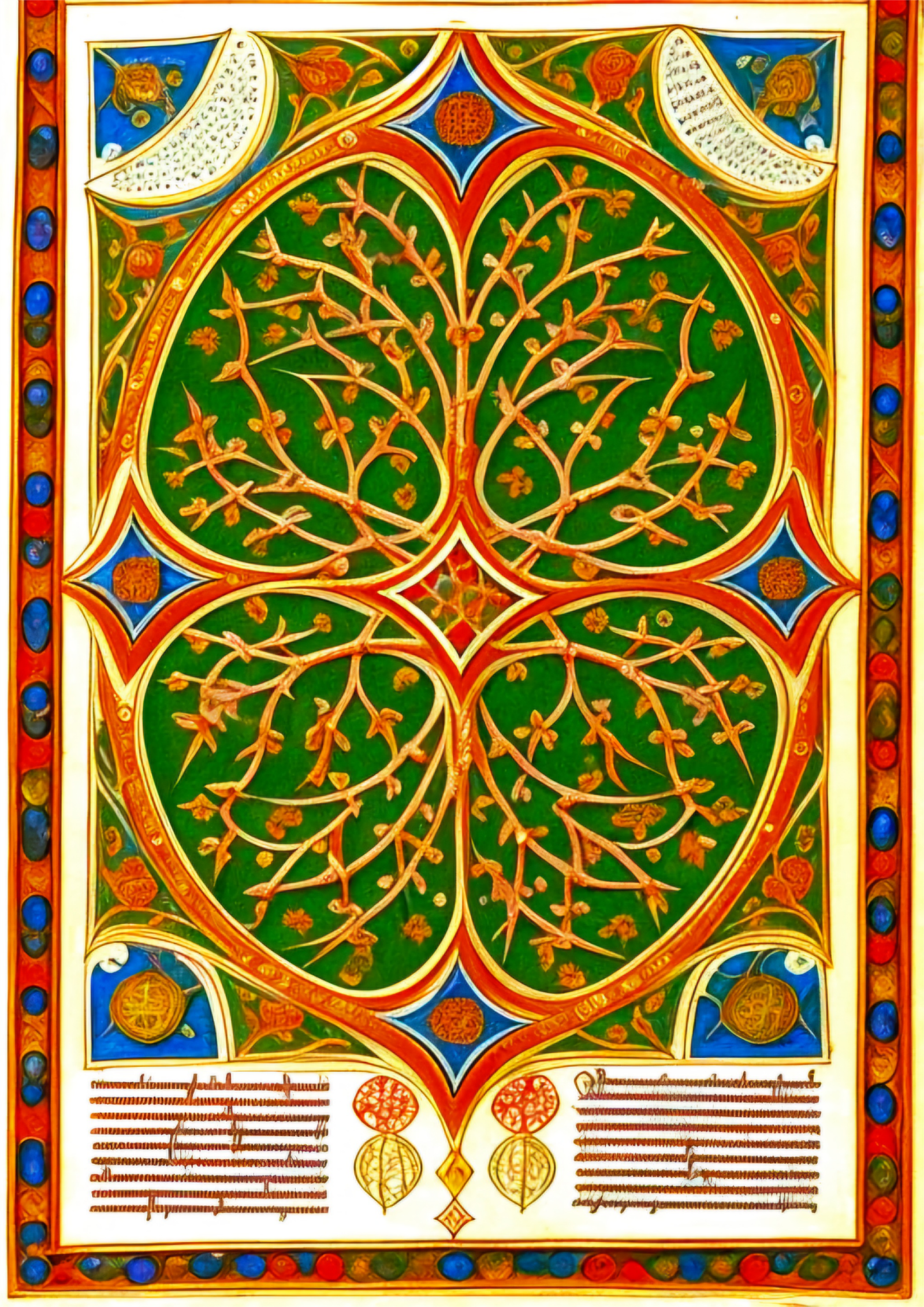

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LECTURES

ON

ANCIENT HISTORY,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE TAKING OF ALEXANDRIA BY OCTAVIANUS.

COMPRISING

THE HISTORY OF THE ASIATIC NATIONS, THE EGYPTIANS, GREEKS, MACEDONIANS, AND CARTHAGINIANS.

BY

B. G. NIEBUHR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN EDITION OF DR. MARCUS NIEBUHR,

BY DR. LEONHARD SCHMITZ, F. R. S. E.,
RECTOR OF THE HIGH SCHOOL OF EDINBURGH.

WITH ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS FROM HIS OWN MS. NOTES.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
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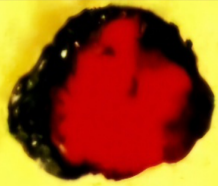
1852.



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LECTURES

ON

ANCIENT HISTORY.

PHILADELPHIA:
T. K. AND P. G. COLLINS, PRINTERS.

TO

HIS MAJESTY FREDERIC WILLIAM IV.,

KING OF PRUSSIA,

THIS WORK IS MOST RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED

BY HIS MOST HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

THE Lectures on Ancient History here presented to the English public, have been edited by Dr. Marcus Niebuhr, the son of the Historian, with the assistance of Mr. F. Spiro and Dr. Isler. They embrace the history of the ancient world, with the exception of that of Rome, down to the time when all the other nations and states of classical antiquity were absorbed by the empire of Rome, and when its history became, in point of fact, the history of the world. Hence the present course of Lectures, together with that on the History of Rome, form a complete course embracing the whole of ancient history.

In the programme of the University of Bonn for the winter-session of 1829 and 30, Niebuhr himself announced these Lectures in the following terms: "Historia aevi antiqui, eo ordine iisque limitibus qui in Justini libris servantur," which at once describe their extent and arrangement.

The Lectures on Ancient History were twice delivered by Niebuhr, first during the summer of 1826, and a second time during the winter of 1829 and 30; but, owing to the fire which destroyed Niebuhr's house in the night between the 5th and 6th of February, 1830, the course of Lectures was interrupted, and Niebuhr completed it in the ensuing summer. In both courses, he followed the plan adopted by Justin or Trogus Pompeius, and carried the history down to the taking of Alexandria by Octavianus; but the history of the last century in both cases

is a mere sketch, the Lecturer not having sufficient time to enter into the detail. In regard to the relation existing between the two courses of Lectures, Dr. M. Niebuhr observes: "A comparison of the MS. notes taken down by the students in the lecture-room, rendered it obvious that the later course must be made the ground-work of the present publication, because in considering the differences which not unfrequently occur, it must be supposed that the more recent views represent the more matured and correct opinions of the Historian; the time, moreover, which Niebuhr devoted to the second course amounting to 113 hours (the earlier course was delivered in 90 hours), enabled him to enter into a more detailed account of his subject. But independently of these considerations, the Lectures of 1829 and 30 have greater intrinsic excellences, for at their second delivery Niebuhr was far more successful in maintaining the right proportion in his treatment of the separate parts of the whole, and in preserving the principle of epic unity, than in the earlier course, in which he was evidently struggling with the difficulty of arranging his materials, and in which he sometimes adopts the chronological order to the exclusion of episodes which he intended to interweave. Another advantage of the more recent course of Lectures is, that in them Niebuhr more strictly adhered to the principles of historical criticism; while in the earlier course, by the side of an objective narrative of uncertain traditions, he sometimes gives utterance to mere conjectures, which he himself does not wish to be taken as real hypotheses. An accidental circumstance, lastly, removed every doubt as to the propriety of taking the course of 1829 and 30 as the basis of the present publication; for the longer Niebuhr lectured at Bonn, the more his pupils became accustomed to his mode of delivery, and they obviously acquired greater skill in writing down the words of the lecturer, so that the MS. notes of the later course of Lectures are on the whole far more com-

plete than those taken down during the earlier course." Dr. M. Niebuhr justly regrets that one excellent copy of notes of which he made use in preparing these Lectures, was placed at his disposal only for the Lectures from I. to XIX., and again from Lecture XLV. to LXII., the owner of those notes refusing in a very ungracious manner the further loan of them, unless he were at the same time entrusted with the editorship of the whole.

"The substance of the earlier course of Lectures, however," says Dr. M. Niebuhr, "has been made use of for the present publication, for the Historian there discusses many points which are not touched upon in the later Lectures, and which therefore have been introduced to complete and enrich the present work. There is indeed a great resemblance between the courses, which in some instances are identical even in terms and expressions; and it seems that Niebuhr, when delivering the second course, availed himself of the MS. notes taken down by one of his pupils during the first delivery. Sometimes, however, he seems to have disliked the repetition of the same things; and some parts, such as the history of the Jews, were omitted in the second course from want of time."

There is yet a third source from which the editor has thought it expedient to enrich the present publication. In the summer of 1825, when Niebuhr commenced teaching at Bonn, he delivered a course of Lectures on the History of Greece from the battle of Chaeronea down to the destruction of Corinth. The Lectures on that period, which had been the subject of his inquiries to a much greater extent than any other portion of ancient history, has furnished the editor with many valuable additions.

Dr. M. Niebuhr remarks, that many of his father's opinions and views propounded in these Lectures, have been adopted by some of his pupils, and published by them without acknowledg-

ing their real authorship; and it will be well to bear this in mind, before we pronounce an opinion upon the originality of this or that statement occurring in these Lectures.

From these preliminary remarks, it will appear, that the present work is a literal transcript of the Lectures delivered during the years 1829 and 1830, so far as this could be done from the notes taken down in the lecture-room; but with such supplementary additions as could be derived from the courses of 1826 and 1825. All the additions from the former course are marked in the text by inverted commas, and in the notes by the dates being attached to them. A very few notes referring to these Lectures were found among the posthumous papers of the Historian, and wherever they are introduced in the present work, the source whence they are derived is stated.

"Nothing of what is contained in the Lectures of 1829 and 1830," says Dr. M. Niebuhr, "has been omitted, except a few expressions which, after the most careful collation of the MS. notes, proved to be utterly unintelligible. Whether some things are not irrecoverably lost through the neglect of the students, is another question; but it is quite evident that this cannot amount to much . . . . As for the rest, the editor has followed the same principles as those adopted in the publication of the Lectures on the History of Rome. Every interpolation has been most carefully avoided, and every word occurring in the MS. notes has been scrupulously preserved."

It now remains for me to state how far the English translation differs from the German original. I have carefully collated the MS. notes in my own possession of the course delivered in 1829 and 1830; but the care and accuracy with which the German editor has performed his task, has left very little for me to glean from my MS. in the shape of additions; and the chief advantage I have derived from my notes consists in the fact that, through them I have been enabled, in not a few in-

stances, to express more clearly and distinctly the exact meaning of the historian. A large number of mistakes occurring in the German edition also have been corrected, so that, as in the case of the Lectures on Roman history, the English edition has some advantages over the German original.

As the German public, especially the readers of learned books, are not very difficult to satisfy in matters of form and style, especially when the chief object is to become acquainted with a man's opinions rather than the form in which he expresses them, Dr. M. Niebuhr has scrupulously adhered to the very words which he found in the MS. notes, even where the common rules of style might have warranted his expressing the substance of what he found in more correct and appropriate language. Now, although such a proceeding is highly commendable in the German editor, the German public being entitled to claim the publication of the identical words of the lecturer, yet the adoption of the same principle would, in an English translation, not only be inexpedient, but impossible—inexpedient because the English public demands more attention to style and form, and impossible, because the Lectures had to be presented in English and not in German. I have accordingly endeavoured to reproduce them in a somewhat more readable form than that which they wear in German, so far as this could be done without taking undue liberties or in any way altering the sense. I do not mean to say, that the Lectures even now have any claims to excellence in style, but all I have aimed at is to make them appear in a form as readable as could be expected under the circumstances, and as is consistent with a conscientious fidelity in preserving the author's sentiments unaltered. For the reader must bear in mind, that these Lectures being delivered extempore, and without any written outline or syllabus, must necessarily be wanting in those qualities which we have a right to expect in a book, where an author has carefully to weigh and

consider not only his thoughts, but also the form in which he has to bring them before his readers. These Lectures on the other hand, are the rich outpourings of vast stores of historical knowledge, coloured in each particular case with the feelings which at the moment animated and influenced the lecturer. He speaks and moves on without restraint: hypotheses which are not yet matured into convictions, are freely expressed; opinions on persons and things, sympathies and antipathies, nay, love and hatred, are set forth much more strongly and unreservedly than would be admissible in a deliberately composed treatise. Hence even slight differences of opinion or contradictions, which are met with in different Lectures, ought not to be judged of too severely. We here catch a glimpse, as it were, of the working of the great mind of the Historian, which imparts to his narrative a degree of freshness and suggestiveness that richly compensates for a more calm and sober exposition. The extraordinary familiarity of Niebuhr with the literatures of all nations, his profound knowledge of all political and human affairs, derived not only from books, but from practical life, and his brilliant powers of combination, present to us in these Lectures, as in those on Roman history, such an abundance of new ideas, startling conceptions and opinions, as are rarely to be met with in any other work. Many of them may, on strict inquiry, be found erroneous, and in many instances the author may have been misled by historical parallels, still the lectures possess the one great and indisputable merit of being extremely suggestive, and of urging the student on to further and independent inquiries. And even now, although more than twenty years have elapsed since their delivery, they are of the highest importance and interest to all who are engaged in the study not only of antiquity, but of any period in the history of man.

L. Schmitz.

Edinburgh, *Feb.*, 1852.

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ANCIENT HISTORY.

LECTURE I.

INTRODUCTION.

History has already acquired a wide domain; and her possessions are constantly increasing, not only because the vicissitudes of existing nations add continually to her store of annals, but because the scholars of Europe are ever augmenting their knowledge of foreign languages, and thus add to the number of intelligible sources of history. Historical knowledge, moreover, is extending, by means of the great discoveries of antiquities in Egypt and Asia, which are only just commencing; and of which the continuation and completion will be the enjoyment of the next generation; and you who are now in the season of youth, if your lives be prolonged to the ordinary term of human existence, will derive from them delight and instruction.

While history thus extends, by the addition of past and future events, fresh stores are also gained from day to day, within the compass of histories already known to us. How different, for example, is the history of the middle ages now, compared with what it used to be! Chronological outlines, mere names, and unimportant accounts of kings, have been superseded by clear ideas and conceptions of the conditions of nations; and these are now placed within the reach of every one.

The more history extends, the more it becomes the true *magistra vitæ*, and the most instructive branch of knowledge. It is the duty of every one who aims at high mental culture, to make

himself acquainted with it in its whole extent; but those who wish to treat it philosophically, must necessarily divide the vast labours. For this reason, the history of antiquity, unless special circumstances shall induce me to make an exception, will always form the exclusive subject of my lectures.

The most recent discoveries in natural science, which belong to our own age, might tempt me, as Schlosser has done in his "Ancient History," to enter upon the history of the earth itself, and its relations to the human race; but such a plan is opposed alike to my views and to my inclination. A correct treatment of history requires the exclusion of all heterogeneous subjects; and we must accordingly separate the history of the earth and its formations, which forms the substratum of human existence, from the history of the human race itself. That branch of history which commences at the point where physical and historical knowledge begin to go hand in hand, the history of the earth and its relations to the life of man, is a separate science, which is not yet sufficiently represented in literature; and of which the very plan and outlines are not yet marked out as they ought to be. We must leave it to this science to furnish, from the archives of nature herself, a history of the changes which our globe has undergone, from the time that man became its inhabitant; to develop the physical differences of races, and the whole history of the changes in the physical condition of man, and especially the history of diseases. To us these things are foreign; and we confine ourselves to describing the actions, the life, and sufferings of man, as man in history.

When we attempt to divide the domain of history into sections, such as its vast extent requires, points sometimes spontaneously present themselves which clearly mark a division; while at other times it is difficult to find such epochs. In the history of particular nations, these points have their special peculiarities. If we survey the whole from our subjective or intellectual point of view, every nation shows its own distinctive character, and its history presents subjectively different divisions. The history of nations like the unchangeable Chinese, and still more the Japanese who are quite a peculiar phenomenon, admits of no division at all; uniformity and stagnation being the inflexible character-

istics of these nations, their history dispenses with the necessity of division, because division is impossible. The appearance of Islamism forms a decided epoch for the Eastern nations professing the Mahommedan religion; but from the earliest times down to that period, there is no marked event. In the history of the European nations, with the exception of the Eastern or Slavonic races, an epoch presents itself at the time when the modern nations begin to form themselves, and our political system commences its development. In this manner, history naturally divides itself into ancient and non-ancient history; and the latter, again into the history of the middle ages and of modern times. The expression, "history of the middle ages," is merely accidental, and properly speaking, unnecessary, for there are only two opposites; and if we consider that the decisive moment of division coincides with the beginning of what are called the middle ages, the division into ancient and modern history appears to be quite sufficient. The introduction of the Christian religion would form a great epoch, were it not that its beginnings reach back into the history of antiquity, which would thus be drawn into modern history. Christianity, therefore, does not form an epoch for the history of the Western nations, as the introduction of Islamism does for the Mahommedan Asiatics.

As the relation of ancient history to the conditions of our own time constitutes the ground of division, the case is very different from what it would be, if we were to draw a line merely according to a chronological date.[1] If we were to say, for example, that ancient history extends down to the fifth century of our era, a portion of Chinese history would belong to antiquity; but there is no connexion whatever between that nation and any portion of ancient history, and the epoch which marks the close of ancient history forms no point of division at

[1] In a MS. note to the Lectures of 1826, we read:—The distinctive nature of ancient history is, that it comprises those things which completely belong to a bygone state of things. It accordingly excludes that which continues to exist unaltered, such as China; it ceases at the beginning of the new order of things in Europe, which still continues, but without there being a distinct line of demarcation separating it from the middle ages. All we can say is, that this or that event does not belong to it.

all for the Chinese. If we were to make chronological divisions, it would be necessary to relate history synchronistically; and it would devolve upon us, for example, to combine with the history of the middle ages that of the Americans so far as it goes; and if, in order to avoid this, we were to separate the nations of which nothing is known, we should be acting inconsistently.

Ancient history in this form would, on the whole, consist of separate and independent accounts of the affairs of many nations, which, to a considerable extent, would be founded upon conjecture. As regards the savages of America, it would be difficult to ascertain, whether in the times of antiquity they possessed a higher civilization, though we may suppose that they did. China, Japan, and the Negro tribes ought, on this system, to have a place in ancient history. In the history of our ancestors, we should be obliged to go back to the time at which we can only guess at their condition; though we do not by any means intend to exclude the Germans from ancient history. I have no objection to ancient history being taught in this manner; the method itself has much that is instructive; but it requires an enormous space of time, and an extent of knowledge, which I for one do not possess.[2]

As we must arrange general history according to a subjective standard, every one may, I think, do the same with ancient history also. Setting aside the synchronistic history of nations, we may adopt two methods of arrangement, the *theological* and the *philological*. The theological arrangement, which was adopted by Bossuet, follows the order of the Old Testament, puts the history of all nations in relation to that of the Jews, and to the dispensation of Providence in training them, until the appearance of Christ, and the establishment of the gospel. The history of the other nations is related only in so far as it comes in contact with that of the Jews, and is always treated as dependent on it. What kind of historical conciseness this method of narrating is capable of, may be learned from Bossuet's work.

[2] In 1826, Niebuhr said:—The synchronistic method does not answer its purpose in the history of a single nation, and still less in general history, because it affords us no survey of the subject. The ancients had no synchronistic history previous to the time of Timaeus.

The account of the vicissitudes of the Jewish nation, of course, occupies considerable space; next to it come the other Eastern nations, while the rest are thrown more and more into the back ground.

The arrangement which I call the philological, refers to the fact, that we consider ancient history mainly as a branch of philology, or as a means of interpretation and of philological knowledge. In this arrangement, the nations whose literature is what is termed classical, are placed in the foreground; while the others retire into the back ground, and become subordinate to the former. As I have been a philologer all my life, I adopt this arrangement, which will be useful to you all. The consequence of it will be, that we shall entirely put out of sight the history of those nations, which stand in scarcely any connection with classical antiquity, such as the Chinese, Japanese, and the Indians beyond the Ganges; whatever may have happened among them, and however valuable the knowledge of it may be, it forms no part of our plan, the kernel of which is the history of Greece and Rome; so that even the history of the Jews, and that of our ancestors, appear only where they are connected with classical antiquity; and they will accordingly constitute a subordinate part, but only in point of form, for they need not on that account be inferior in importance.

In this manner the whole of the history of antiquity, so far as it belongs to philology, might form one complete subject of instruction; but as its compass is still immense, a further division is necessary. Ancient history, in our sense, again divides itself into non-Roman and Roman, a division which is by no means accidental. For Roman history in its first beginnings is connected with that of the rest of antiquity, only by slender fibres; these fibres gradually strengthen, until they become mighty roots in the soil of other nations; and Roman history in the end acquires such an extent, that in it all the other histories of antiquity, the Greek, Macedonian (which had previously absorbed that of Asia and Egypt), and Carthaginian, terminate; it even unites with itself the earliest history of our ancestors: it overshadows the whole world. The relation of the other nations to Rome is completed at the time when they are

absorbed by the Roman empire, and during the period of the emperors, there is no trace of classical history, that is not contained or lost in that of Rome. Hence the separation of Roman history is not merely something negative; that history is rather the second half of ancient history philologically considered.

The other, non-Roman half, accordingly comprises everything connected with the Greeks; and its noblest part is the history of that nation. It does not, however, embrace them alone, but all others of whom the Greeks acquired any knowledge. To it belongs everything that had any reference to them, and hence it also includes various stages which preceded those national conditions, which make their appearance in the history of Greece; that is, for example, the history of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Medes, Egyptians, Scythians (on account of their relation to Persia); and in like manner all the nations which did not stand in a direct relation to the Roman world. We shall have occasion, for example, to speak of the Gauls or Celts at the time when they migrate and make their appearance in Macedonia and Greece; but I have spoken of them more minutely in the history of Rome, to which they belong more particularly.

Another question is, in what manner is history to be related? All historical lectures, in order to attain the object in view, must furnish us a living picture, in which the things that stand to one another in the relation of cause and effect, become clear to us in their mutual operation. As we exclude the history of the earth, and confine ourselves to that of mankind, we can go back only to those times of which traditions have come down to us; for the history of nations and periods previous to the discovery of the art of writing is necessarily buried in impenetrable darkness. At the time when our traditions commence, we find the earth inhabited by a number of different peoples of different races, which were as distinguished from one another by their languages and customs, as they are now; nay, the further we go back, the more we find that languages were distinct, and nations foreign to one another. This we take as an historical fact, and we shall consider each nation by itself, without entering upon speculations as to the origin of these differences. Whether all

nations were originally of different origin and belonged to different races, or whether their original identity was changed in form and language by a series of miracles, these are questions which do not belong to ancient history; and we must leave to others to discuss them. Without a direct and minute revelation from God, we cannot arrive at any certain results on these points, and in reference to them the Book of Genesis cannot be considered as a revelation.

In regard to the form most suited to a course on ancient history, I consider it best to follow some authority, it being difficult to form a plan of one's own; and I do not know that I can select anything better than the sagacious and pleasing arrangement devised by Trogus Pompeius, and which is most easily accessible to us in the abridgment of Justin. But I do not mean to say, that I shall follow him in his manner of treatment, or adopt his narrative as my standard; nor will I arrange my lectures, according to the division of his work, into books. I shall not put together in one section what he has arranged in one book, nor shall I adopt his brevity or minuteness; but my intention is rather to be more minute in the history of the earliest times of the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian empires; which he has strangely compressed in one book; for I believe this to be highly necessary, especially for a correct understanding of the historical books of the Scriptures. On the other hand, I shall endeavour to condense, where he is extremely minute, as in the account of the convulsions and disputes among the Macedonian dynasties. What is superficially related by him in his first book, will be in my lectures far more than the fortieth part of the whole, while in the history of the Macedonian period, several books will be condensed into one lecture.

LECTURE II.

Trogus Pompeius has been the name of our author ever since the time when it became customary among the Romans to place

the cognomen instead of the praenomen before the Gentile name. His true original name is Pompeius Trogus, and his praenomen was no doubt Cneius. He was a grandson of one Pompeius Trogus, a Vocontian, who, in the war of Sertorius, obtained the franchise through Cn. Pompey, and hence undoubtedly assumed Cneius as his praenomen from Pompey. The Roman praenomen which was adopted by the first of a family, was generally retained by his descendants; thus, in Asia Minor, where the emperor Claudius appears to have conferred the franchise on many towns, we find in all the inscriptions, not only of the first, but also of the second century, the name of Tiberius Claudius. Hence the grandson of the Vocontian probably bore the name of Cn. Pompeius. The Vocontians inhabited the upper part of Provence, between the Isère and the Durance, the modern department *des Basses Alpes;* their nationality is doubtful; they may have been Ligurians, or perhaps they were Gauls. At the time of the Sertorian war, when Pompey marched through Gaul into Spain, they were in arms against the Romans, but were subdued by M. Fonteius, who was then praetor in Gaul, and was afterwards defended by Cicero. Cn. Pompeius, the grandfather of our historian, must on that occasion have abandoned the cause of his nation. He had two sons, one of whom accompanied Pompey into Parthia, and is mentioned in the Mithridatic war as the commander of a detachment of Gallic horse. The other Trogus, the father of the historian, joined the dictator Julius Cæsar, and became one of his private secretaries, whence we must infer that he was a man of considerable attainments. The historian accordingly lived in the time of Augustus. His personal history is almost entirely unknown, and we are acquainted with him only as an author. Trogus Pompeius was the first Roman who conceived the idea of writing the history of foreign nations, while the artistic development of the history of Rome itself had been commenced by Livy and Sallust. To judge from the notice he takes of the speeches interwoven in their works, he must have composed his history later than those two. This we gather from one of the latter books of Justin, who says, that Trogus blamed Sallust and Livy for having given

their speeches in the *oratio recta*[1]—a childish censure, of which, however, at times even an intelligent man may be guilty.

The plan of his history was to commence with the earliest times of which the Greeks had any information; and he carried it through by means of a skilful insertion of episodes. He does not go much farther back than Herodotus, and like him he too, properly speaking, began with the commencement of the struggle between Asia and Europe, in the war of Cyrus against Lydia; touching upon the Assyrian and Median periods only in a brief introduction. From the Persians he passes on to the Greeks, whose history he inserts; thence he proceeds to Sicily and Carthage, embracing the migration of the Gauls, and their invasion of Macedonia. He is much interested in the expeditions of Alexander the Great, and gives a very detailed account of the Macedonian dynasties down to the end of the last Syrian dynasty, to which he subjoins the branch dynasties of Pergamus and Pontus. In the last books, he treats of the traditions of the West, especially of Iberia; and it is much to be regretted that they are lost. He also touched upon the history of Rome, but only on its most ancient periods and traditions, and that from a Greek point of view. Otherwise he excludes it entirely, and for this reason I follow his plan. However much I shall have to add in many parts, yet I shall on the whole adhere to his method. He shows a masterly skill in the manner in which he inserts his episodes.

We know his work unfortunately in a very mutilated form; first, by what are called prologues, that is, tables of contents prefixed to several books; they are a kind of summaries, which are frequently found in the manuscripts of ancient authors, and were certainly made at a very early period, though they may not be the work of the authors themselves. Those of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example, are very ancient. Those of Trogus Pompeius are indescribably barbarous.

These summaries, however, are important, because in some cases they show the plan of Trogus more distinctly than the extracts of

[1] Justin xxxviii. 3.

Justin. They are a proof that he treated of many subjects, which, to judge from Justin, he might seem to have passed over, and thus form, as it were, his justification: they show the neatness of his plan, but are terribly corrupt in our manuscripts. The Abbé de Longuerue has treated of them in an excellent manner; he was a distinguished man, one of the best French scholars of the seventeenth century, and was chiefly engaged in the study of the Fathers. He has published little, and his papers having fallen into unfaithful hands, have for the most part been lost. A portion of them has been purchased by Professor Moldenhawer, and deposited in the library of Copenhagen. His labours on Chrysostom have been made use of, but without the acknowledgement due to him. What he had collected for the prologues of Trogus has been conscientiously used in Gronovius' edition of Justin; in Grauert's edition of the prologues, the Abbé's emendations have been made use of.

You are all acquainted with Justin, a work which in my youth was used in schools. The period at which he lived is uncertain, and different opinions are entertained about it. The most common belief is, that he was a contemporary of the Antonines, and there are manuscripts, in which the preface is actually addressed to the emperor M. Antoninus. But I am convinced, that this statement is solely founded on a confusion with Justin, the martyr, who flourished in the time of the Antonines, and whose age was known in the West even before the revival of Greek literature; for in the Chronicle of St. Jerome—the chronological tables of Eusebius translated by Jerome, to which we are indebted for a great deal of information, and to which Jerome made excellent additions—it is stated that the philosopher Justin was a contemporary of the Antonines. In the Medicean manuscript, which is probably the most ancient, he is called M. Junianus Justinus, which name is certainly not wrong. A practised eye sees certain evidence in small indications, in which others can see no significance. One of these indications is the form of Roman names in later times; and he who has carefully observed the changes of these names, can thereby determine to what period a man belongs. Thus the names on the pillar of Igel alone

would show that this monument belongs to the third century. Now the form M. Junianus Justinus, without a Gentile name, though the Roman praenomen is still preserved, distinctly points to the third century, and to it I assign him. His language also agrees with this supposition. I have now reclaimed two authors for that century. In regard to ancient history, people have been strangely one-sided, and have overlooked many things; thus the third century has been regarded as altogether a dead period, though down to A. D. 260, there was more life in Latin literature, than during the greater part of the second century, which from the time of Suetonius was a period of rest in literature, if we except the highly ingenious Apuleius and Gellius. From the reign of Severus, Roman literature rose again; this fact has hitherto not been properly understood, and it has been supposed, that from the time of Commodus down to the fourth century, Roman literature had entirely disappeared.

Justin worked in the same manner as Florus had done in the reign of Trajan, and as others did in his own time. He abridged a large work, which began to be neglected because it was too voluminous. We will not blame him for this, but be grateful for it, since the forty-four large books of Trogus would certainly not have been copied, seeing that only thirty-five books of Livy were copied. Justin's abridgment, however, was hastily made, and is full of blunders.

Justin is an author, in editing whom a philologer who makes history his study, and undertakes the task with philological skill, may yet acquire great distinction. A good edition is still a desideratum; the text is bad, and for the last three hundred years the same text has been reprinted; a critical examination of it, therefore, is the thing needed above all others. Of all the scholars that have been occupied with Justin, scarcely one deserves honourable mention, with the exception of James Bongarsius, a French Protestant, whose library still exists at Berne. He was a clever man, and a distinguished commentator. Most of the others are quite incompetent; and the last, Abraham Gronovius, is the most incompetent of all. Yet his edition is the only one, that can in some measure be recommended, because

it contains a good collection of the various readings. We require for our purpose only a small edition of the text.[2]

It would be a grateful task to write a history of antiquity on the plan of Justin, but so as to make use, at the same time, of all the resources which we now possess. Time does not allow me, in these lectures, to refer to modern historians.

Justin begins his history with Ninus, according to the false supposition of the ancients, who place him in a very remote period, and assign to his Assyrian empire of Nineveh a duration of 1,200 years, fixing its destruction even before the beginning of the Olympiads, that is, at a time preceding the reign of Nabonassar. We, too, shall begin with the Assyrians; but with those of Babylon, and not, like Justin, with those of Nineveh. In the Book of Genesis, also, Nimrod is mentioned first, as the founder and first ruler of Babel, and Assur of Nineveh follows after the kingdom of Babel.

The name of Aramaeans, Syrians or Assyrians, comprises the nations extending from the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris to the Euxine, the River Halys, and Palestine. They applied to themselves the name Aram, and the Greeks called them Assyrians, which is the same name as Syrians. Within that great extent of country, there existed, of course, various dialectic differences of language; and there can be little doubt, but that in some places the nation was mixed with other races. Thus Assyria is sometimes made to comprise Cordyene. The modern Kurds speak a language which is made up of Persian and Syriac, and thus prove their ancient intermixture. In like manner the nations on the Euxine and in Cappadocia seem to be mixed races. The Canaanites, Arabs, and Hebrews are akin to the Aramaeans, and all speak Semitic languages, which form a very marked contrast to the neighbouring Persian language. It was only for a

[2] Manuscripts alone would not be in all respects sufficient to prepare a good edition. It must also be observed, that everything which was not generally known was beyond the comprehension and knowledge of Justin. He himself in his preface describes his work as the result of accident.

short period that the Assyrian people constituted one state; they were generally divided into many.[3]

A singular misfortune hangs over their history. It is to be lamented that no true information has come down to us from a time which possessed ample means for writing the history of that Asiatic empire, and that only fables have become current; for the account of Ctesias which, instead of a true history, is a mere fiction, became established as current history. In what manner his work arose, whether he was able to read books, as he himself asserts, and fabulous books fell into his hands which he was led to take for history, or whether he was imposed upon by oral traditions and fictitious tales, and yielded to his own partiality for what was fabulous; these are questions which we cannot and need not decide. This much is clear that we must altogether reject his tales about Assyria.

About the one hundred and twenty-eighth Olympiad, towards the close of the reign of Antiochus Soter, or the beginning of that of Antiochus Theus (four hundred and eighty years after the era of Nabonassar, and sixty-two after the taking of Babylon by Alexander), Berosus, a Babylonian priest, wrote upon the antiquities of his nation, not inventing his statements, but as he himself says, deriving them from ancient documents. The truth of this assertion is attested by the strikingly exact agreement between the statements respecting the later Assyrian empire, which are derived from his work, and the historical books of the Old Testament. All the Assyrian kings of Nineveh, Phul, Assarhaddon, Sanherib, Merodach-Baladan, and the Babylonian Nebucadnezar, and Evil-Merodach, who are mentioned in the Books of Kings, occur in his work also, and that at periods which perfectly agree with those at which they are mentioned in the Scriptures. The authenticity of his statements is thus placed beyond a doubt, while those of Ctesias are so utterly destitute of historical foundation, that we need not say much about them. Two such different accounts cannot both be true.

Berosus, moreover, perfectly agrees with Herodotus, whose

[3] On this subject, compare Niebuhr's *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i. p. 179. Ueber den Gewinn aus dem Armenischen Eusebius.—Ed.

statements are founded on authorities of the same character as those of Berosus. This I have shown in my dissertation "On the Historical Advantage to be derived from the Armenian Translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius," p. 179, foll. All the statements of Herodotus respecting the chronology of Nineveh, Media, Lydia, and Babylonia, are based on one common synchronistic system which agrees with the accounts of Berosus. Herodotus received the plan of general history in Babylonia. We have therefore no reason to doubt the authenticity of Berosus; and why should he not have made use of the existing treasures? or why should he not have been honest enough to prefer the simple statements of his documents to falsehood?

It is one of the remarkable peculiarities of literature that, after the Macedonian conquests, the barbarous nations of Asia and Egypt were seized with a zeal to make their annals known to the Greeks; for historical works were composed almost simultaneously by Berosus at Babylon, by Menander at Tyre, and by Manetho in Egypt, and by making a careful use of genuine historical documents, they proved the utility of Eastern history. As at present the Bengalese begin to learn European languages and to write English, so the Asiatics at that time adopted the Greek language and wrote Greek histories of their countries; but unfortunately their efforts created little interest among the Greeks. "The Greek culture at the Macedonian courts was only an exotic plant; their nature was thoroughly barbarian, and soon gained the upper hand; writers ceased to translate from native authorities, and what had been done in this respect, soon perished. Thus the work of Berosus also was lost at an early period. Josephus still read it, and perhaps Athenaeus also." If it were not for Josephus, who had a similar object in view, we should have few quotations of any consequence from Berosus. Extracts from his work have come down to us, but they were made at second hand. A client and companion of the dictator Sulla, L. Cornelius Alexander of Miletus, commonly called the Polyhistor, had treated of ancient Asiatic empires, and his historical encyclopedia contained a great number of extracts concerning all those nations. Among them there were some from Berosus, though not in his own words, such as Josephus quotes in his

work against Apion. From this encyclopedia of Alexander other extracts were made in the reign of Elagabalus, by Julius Africanus, a Christian chronographer, who already was unacquainted with the work of Berosus itself. From Africanus those extracts passed into the works of Eusebius and Georgius Syncellus. "Eusebius made excerpts from Africanus, and added to them others from Porphyrius." Eusebius is a very dishonest writer, for wishing to supplant the chronology of Africanus, he assumes the appearance of having himself used the ancient authorities, whereas he stands only on the shoulders of Julius Africanus, and was unacquainted with several of the principal authors, not only with Berosus, but even with Alexander the Polyhistor. The Greek text of the Eusebian chronicle is lost; the second book exists in the Latin translation by St. Jerome, but the first was neglected. Isaac Casaubonus possessed Greek extracts from it containing original fragments from Porphyrius. I do not know where he found them; as far as I have been able to learn, they no longer exist at Paris. Other excerpts are found in Cedrenus, from whose work much may be gleaned with the aid of St. Jerome. With these resources Scaliger attempted the restoration of Eusebius, a thing which was perfectly impracticable. The rest is preserved in the Armenian translation of Eusebius' chronicle, which has fortunately been discovered, though not complete. It is at all events a valuable discovery; what we have, is a very large portion, and the present diligent researches in Armenian literature allow us to hope, that the rest may yet be supplied by some Armenian manuscript. "The newly discovered portion contains most important data, especially for the history of Assyria." In this manner, then, we have obtained statements from Berosus, concerning the highly interesting cosmogony of the Babylonians, and very mutilated accounts of the dynasties.

We know that Berosus wrote Βαβυλωνιχὰ in three books, perhaps with the same brevity as the Books of Kings in Scripture, unless we have to understand by the term "books" separate works. "He dedicated his work to Antiochus Soter." In the first book he described the earliest or mythical period, and the Babylonian cosmogony; the second began after the flood of

Xisuthrus, and the third contained the later history, which he appears to have treated very briefly. Even among his contemporaries, Berosus enjoyed the reputation of great wisdom; nay, what is more strange still, a statue was erected to him even at Athens. He was a Chaldaean, and no doubt an astronomer or astrologer. "We see from his fragments, that he was a very truthful man; hence he did not place the real Chaldaean astronomy farther back than Nabonassar." When he makes the curious statement, that he made use of records which had been made fifteen myriads of years before his own time, it is evident he was deceived by an inveterate prejudice about the antiquity of his sources; and that, although he is otherwise intelligent, yet his head was not free from the ordinary notions of the ancients, such as in our own days are entertained only by the Brahmins.

LECTURE III.

THE Babylonians, like the Indians, endeavoured to find a chronological outline for the events of past ages. Lalande has shown that in their calculation they adopted lunar cycles as their basis, forming cycles of the coincidence of lunar with solar years. In order to determine this coincidence more accurately, they made larger and larger cycles, ever endeavouring to increase the accuracy by intercalations. The first or smallest division of 60 years was called by them a Sosus; this multiplied by ten, or 600 years, constituted a Nerus, and six Neri or 3600 years, formed a Sarus. I do not know whether these names were Chaldaean or not.

The cosmogony of the Babylonians is very remarkable;[1] ac-

[1] The cosmogony of Berosus has become celebrated among Christian writers, because a part of it, and especially its archaeology, forms a parallel to the Mosaic cosmogony. People have even gone so far wrong as to assert that the Mosaic cosmogony was derived from it. The former is

cording to it the world began with a chaotic darkness, which was conceived as a fluid, and as inhabited by swimming animals of the strangest forms; some of them are described, and representations of them are said to have been preserved in the temple of Belus at Babylon. These were the creatures preceding the last revolution of the earth. "The darkness was conceived as a power controlling the chaotic confusion, and was called Thalatth. Belus was the governor of the world, but not its creator." He separated, it is said, darkness and light, and the present atmosphere and the surface of the earth were formed. When light appeared, the animals above mentioned hardened and died. "In this manner the material world came into existence; but in order to infuse life and spirit into it, Belus cut off his own head," and mixed his own blood with the earth. From this mixture "the first man, Alorus, was produced; who was succeeded by generation after generation until the flood." This period, from the creation of the human race to the flood, which entirely agrees with that of Noah, that is, the period between Alorus and Xisuthrus, or between Adam and Noah, was computed by the Babylonians at 120 sari, or 432,000 years. This period accurately corresponds with the Kali-Yug of the Indians, "except that the latter regard the age in which we live as being this period, while the Babylonians describe it as a bygone time. Attempts have been made to reconcile this period with probability; but this is impossible, and at the same time superfluous. Men have found a certain attractive majesty in that which is monstrous."

Man was first created at Babylon; corn there grew wild, and the new race of beings there found the first necessary food, especially wheat. This tradition is the more remarkable, because several naturalists have made the observation, that corn does not grow wild in any part of the world. I do not know, whether by a process of improvement our garden fruits can be derived from wild fruit; it is well known, however, that the noble vine grapes grow wild in Colchis. Whence then does

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miraculous, but never grotesque, like the Babylonian.—[This remark was made in 1826.]

corn come? My opinion is that God made direct provisions for man; something was given to all, real wheat to the Asiatics, and maize to the Americans. This circumstance deserves to be seriously considered; it is one of the manifest traces of the education of our race by God's direct guidance and providence. In the development of the whole human race, we meet with a great many things of a similar nature, which every one must acknowledge who is not under the influence of an antipathy, a degenerate antipathy against the belief in such a divine guidance. Among them may be mentioned the working in metal; for it could not have occurred to man, had he not been guided by an instinct which does not come of itself. In like manner he cannot have discovered the healing powers of plants, without such an instinct. At a later period man was guided by analogy and combination, and the inward higher voice of instinct became weaker and weaker, the more the reasoning powers were developed.

When men began to live in a human way at Babylon, the cosmogony proceeds, there appeared to them from the deep, one of the monsters of the preceding world, which had been saved, and with a human voice gave them information on the events of past times. Now it is true, no man in his senses will take it to be an historical fact, that God should have revealed himself in such an unworthy form; but these notions, of strange and monstrous beings of the primitive world, are nevertheless highly remarkable, inasmuch as their existence is attested by the remains which geologists have discovered in secondary formations of rocks—remains of creatures, which must have lived, before the present solid earth was formed, and moved in chaos according to very different laws. Were there among the Babylonians at that time geologists as at present? Did they even then carry their investigations into the bowels of the earth? and did they arrive at the same conclusions as those at which Cuvier, Brogniart, and others have now arrived? Or must we suppose that along with other revelations, they received one also concerning past times? Whatever it may have been, this notion of something fantastic in nature is highly significant; it is not an idea on which man could have fallen of himself.

It is further stated, that the men of that period of 120 sari, lived immensely long; until there arose unjust men, and God decreed to destroy mankind on account of its increasing wickedness. He ordered one just man, Xisuthrus, to build a large ark, like that of Noah, and to embark in it with a chosen band of pious men. A flood then occurred, which overwhelmed and destroyed all Babylonia (for the Babylonians limited this inundation to their own country). The ark floated towards the mountains of Armenia, and when the waters had subsided, the just men there disembarked, and returned to Babylonia. This evidently presents a resemblance to the account of the flood of Noah, to which we may add the circumstance that the number of generations from the first man to the flood, is ten, the same as that between Adam and Noah; while, on the other hand, the Babylonian tradition differs from the Mosaic account, by stating that not only Xisuthrus and his family, but all pious men were saved; and also by making the flood not universal, but only partial and confined to Babylonia. After the deluge, Babylonia became again inhabited, and we now find lists of dynasties, in ever-decreasing periods of time, "just like the lives of the patriarchs in the Old Testament."

The first dynasty of native kings is said to have had eighty-six kings, and to have lasted 34,080 years.[2] This is evidently a fable, for while the kings at first reign upwards of 2,000 years, the reigns of the subsequent ones become shorter and shorter, until in the end they have the duration of an ordinary human life. This dynasty, therefore, being quite fabulous, must be put aside; we must look upon it as analogous to the empire of Nimrod in Genesis. But it may be asserted, that where it ends, at least 2,000 years before Alexander, the real history of Babylonia commences.[3] One tradition states that Callisthenes found

[2] In the notes of 1826 we read:—A less authentic statement is 33,090 years. This period is not calculated by the Babylonians according to solar years, but according to *sari*, *neri* and *soci*.

[3] The passage here following, which cannot be restored with certainty, in consequence of the great discrepancy in the manuscript notes, does not agree with the dissertation on Eusebius, p. 200. In the Lectures of 1826, Niebuhr expressed himself on this subject as follows: "The object of the

in Babylon, documents and astronomical observations, which according to some were 2,200 years older than himself, according to others 1,900, and according to others again, 1,700 (sic), the first of which numbers I consider to be the most probable. It might be urged against the supposition of their having been real observations, that if there had existed such ancient records, Berosus would probably have commenced his accurate calculations before the period of Nabonassar; but it is, nevertheless, probable that Callisthenes found at Babylon some documents relating to Babylonian chronology, and astronomical observations made at a very remote period. This I consider as an indubitable fact. Porphyrius[4] certainly did not invent the statement, but must have derived it from good authority. The common chronology of the Babylonians was the era of Nabonassar, which began in the second year of the eighth Olympiad; but Callisthenes observed that there was also another more ancient chronology, which went back as far as 2,000 years before his own age.

Berosus' accounts of the ancient dynasties are extremely meagre, but seem, nevertheless, to be deserving of attention.

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enormous height of the temple of Belus was only to make astronomical observations." The antiquity of astronomical observations has been determined very differently. Ptolemy and Berosus, probably, had none that were more ancient than the age of Nabonassar; this is stated expressly by Pliny, but others, he adds, went farther back, though few only as much as a century. Callisthenes, however, who accompanied Alexander, wrote that the Babylonians had observations which went back 1903 years. Cicero and Diodorus state that they had observations of 474,000 years. This, however, is probably a misunderstanding, and it seems probable that both statements arose only from the fact, that the Babylonians meant the period which had elapsed from the establishment of the present order of the world down to the time of Alexander, and that they said they had observations from the earliest times. The number of Callisthenes almost corresponds with the time which had elapsed from the beginning of the second dynasty to Alexander. There can be no doubt, that previous to the age of Nabonassar they had a fixed method of chronology and astronomical observations.

[4] This name has been put in by conjecture; one MS. only gives a name, but has Pliny and not Porphyrius. The statement about Callisthenes, as is well known, occurs in Simplicius, *ad Aristot. de Coelo*, ii. p. 123, a.; comp. also p. 27, a.—Ed.

Between the flood and the dominion of the Assyrians over Babylonia, he reckons five dynasties. The first dynasty after the deluge, he says, was succeeded by a Median one, of which Zoroaster was the first ruler. In this manner the origin of the religion of the Magi would come to belong to a very remote period. The age of Zoroaster is quite uncertain: the Persians place him in a time which is altogether unknown, in the reign of a King Gustasp, who cannot be identified with Darius Hystaspis, since before the reign of the latter, the power of the Magi was so great in Asia, that he found himself called upon to break it. "He certainly belongs to the oldest period of Asiatic history." Zoroaster, however, whatever may be said as to his historical existence, is for us no more than a mythical name, the founder of the Magian worship of light or Ormuzd. That this worship took its origin among the Medes, cannot be doubted, and our best authorities treat Zoroaster as a Mede. I cannot see why the belief of the Babylonians, that in conjunction with the Medes he subdued Babylonia, and that eight kings of his dynasty ruled for a period of 224 years, should not be true.

This dynasty was succeeded by a third of eleven kings; we neither know to what nation they belonged, nor how long they reigned, for the passage in Julius Africanus is mutilated. "The time of the duration of this dynasty has dropped out, and the gloss *forty-eight years* is absolutely wrong." This loss is greatly to be lamented, for otherwise we should be able to trace the scale with certainty 2,000 years beyond the age of Alexander. It is possible that these eleven kings may yet be supplied, if another manuscript of Eusebius should be discovered.

Then follows the fourth dynasty, which is said to have furnished forty-nine Chaldaean kings, and to have continued 458 years;[5] it is succeeded by the fifth, containing nine Arabian

[5] "The Chaldaeans were a caste at Babylon, most celebrated as priests and astronomers, but they were at the same time rulers, and stood in the same relation as the Brahmins. In Scripture they are called Chasdim. Joseph Scaliger was the first to show, that the Chaldaeans and Aramaeans were different races; he has proved that the roots of the Assyrian words are found in the Aramaic, and that the Chaldaean is quite foreign to them. These investigations were continued by Perizonius in his *Origines Baby-*

kings who ruled for a period of 245 years. It is a very curious circumstance, that the Arabs at this early period appear as a ruling people. It is possible, that this may afford an explanation of the seventeenth Egyptian dynasty, and that there may be found some connexion between the two.

After this, the fifth dynasty, about 1000 years after the beginning of the Median rule (for we cannot say with certainty what time elapsed after this dynasty, the chronology of one dynasty having dropped out), there begins the Assyrian dynasty, with forty-five kings, filling a period of 520 years, which exactly agrees with the statement, which Herodotus must have heard at Babylon, that the Assyrians had ruled 520 years over Upper Asia.[6] This number must be adopted, instead of the enormous one of 1300 years, which Ctesias assigns to the Assyrian rulers from Ninus to Sardanapalus, and which is quite fabulous; while the former is derived from genuine Babylonian annals.[7] But it is not to be understood as referring to the period from the first foundation of Nineveh to its destruction, but to that extending from the time when the Assyrians subdued Babylon, until the time when Babylonia and Media made themselves independent

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lonicae, and by Vitringa, in his commentary on Isaiah. We must conceive the Chaldaeans to have been a foreign tribe, which at some unknown time conquered Babylon. Some have imagined that they were Slavonians, on account of the many names ending in *zar*; and the names Nebucadnezar and Belsazar have been interpreted by the Slavonic language in a manner which seems to be suitable enough. But this is a remarkable instance to put us on our guard against such speculations, for there is nothing else to warrant it. We cannot get beyond the mere fact that the Chaldaeans were a foreign tribe, which came from the north as conquerors."—From the Lect. of 1826.

[6] In 1826, Niebuhr observed:—"Herodotus and my father resemble each other, for both were most accurate in their inquiries."

[7] In 1826, Niebuhr said:—"Whether Ctesias said 1300 years, or any other number, cannot be determined, on account of the intolerable method of writing Greek numbers in MSS. The Chronicles of Castor and Cephalaeon, which were made use of by Africanus, and after him by Eusebius, likewise give long lists of Assyrian kings. Now, although they do not agree with Ctesias, yet the fact itself might suggest that Ctesias after all derived his account from Oriental authorities."

of Assyria. "After this, Nineveh continued to exist as a powerful empire for 123 years, and that these 123 years are not comprised in the 526 years, has been shown in my dissertation on the Armenian translation of Eusebius.[8] It had, moreover, been powerful even before that time."

I will not repeat the old stories about Ninus, Semiramis, and the like; they may be read in Justin, and with still more detail in Diodorus Siculus. As these stories are derived from Ctesias, and as for want of information we do not know what Berosus thought of them, I would not like to make any historical use of them. The fact of the founder of Nineveh being called Ninus, is quite in accordance with the common practice; in Genesis, however, this name does not occur, but Assur.[9] Nineveh was situated on the extreme boundary of the country inhabited by the Aramaic race; a few miles from it, we meet on the one side the Persians, and on the other the Medes. This situation leads to the supposition that it was chosen with a definite object, and that the Aramaeans founded a great city here for the purpose of controlling the neighbouring nations, just as Constantine the Great made Byzantium his residence in the East for the same purpose.[10] There can be no doubt that Nineveh is of more recent origin than Babylon; but how and when it was founded, how an empire arose there, and how it acquired the dominion of Asia, these are obscure questions to which no answer can be

[8] See Niebuhr's *Klein. Schrift.* vol. i, p. 209, comp. with p. 195, foll. The 123d year of the Nabonassarian era falls in Olymp. 38, 4.—Ed.

[9] "Semiramis was no doubt a celebrated queen in the East. This may be seen from Herodotus, who speaks of her dykes; but he places her only five generations before Nitocris, the wife of Nebucadnezar. She would thus belong to the time of Tiglath Pilassar, and would not have been queen of Nineveh, but of Babylon. From Herodotus it is clear that an elder Semiramis, a wife of Ninus, was unknown at Babylon, which he himself visited. All this is mythical, and Ninus is only a personification of Nineveh."—1826.

[10] "It is very possible that in those districts the Aramaic race was mixed with another, the Elamites (Zend, Medes), seeing that the Kurds are a mixed race of Aramaeans and Medo-Persians. Thus it is possible that the Babylonians formed a state in a country which was before Median, and that this state afterwards became powerful there."—1826.

given. Genesis does not contain a trace of this empire, and Berosus does not mention that the Assyrians ruled over Asia; and the earlier Babylonian kings had no such extensive dominions. It is only the statements in the fables of Ctesias that give us an idea of the immense extent of the empire. According to them, Ninus was involved in a war with Zoroaster, king of the Bactrians. This seems to suggest a struggle between the Aramaic and Iranian races, and between the astronomical or star worship of the Babylonians, and the worship of light-Ormuzd of the Iranian tribes.[11] It is quite clear that Semiramis plays a prominent part in the poetry of those nations; but from the detailed accounts about her cunning, her conquests in Bactria and India, and the like, we can draw no conclusions. No man can say with certainty how far the Assyrian empire extended; that Babylon was subject to it, is known from Berosus; Media and Persia no doubt yielded to its sway; Herodotus describes its dominion as extending into Upper Asia, and it is possible that it reached as far as Asia Minor. Some connection between the dynasty of Nineveh and the Heracleids of Sardis is indicated in the statement of their common descent from Belus. According to tradition, Ninus was a great grandson of Heracles, or son of Belus. Baal in the History of the Jews, and Bel at Babylon in the so-called Apocryphal Books, and the Heracleids at Sardis, were likewise traced to Belus through King Agron of Lydia.[12] "It is quite certain that the later kings mentioned in the Old Testament ruled in Asia Minor." Late Greek writers, therefore, regard even the kingdom of Troy as a fief of the Assyrian empire of Nineveh, which is quite a correct historical idea.[13] Certain it is, that there was an empire of extraordinary magnitude.

[11] "The star-worshippers were still numerous in the Middle Ages; at present they exist only in the small town of Harran."—1826.

[12] "It is quite contrary to Oriental notions for Greek mythology to represent the Babylonian Bel, the governor of the world, as a son of Heracles. It is quite a different thing when the Orientals describe Ninus as a son of Bel."—1826.

[13] "They suppose that Memnon had been sent by the Assyrian king to assist his vassal, the king of Troy. A distinct mention, however, of a connection between Nineveh and the Trojan war occurs only in late writers. But that the Assyrians came in contact with the Greeks, when

"The district about Nineveh was called, by ancient geographers, Atturia; the country is quite different from that of Babylon, and one of the most magnificent districts in the world. It is not indeed so fertile as Babylon, but it is wanting in nothing, while Babylon has no trees. The city was situated opposite to Mosul." The circumference of Nineveh was immense, and its site is even now marked by mighty heaps of ruins which are said to contain the remnants of the walls. This has recently been confirmed by English travellers. "The royal palace may still be recognized by the remnants of a square brick wall, by which it was surrounded. Nineveh was not, like Babylon, built only of bricks, but contained buildings of hewn stone. Lately, a large stone, with figures in relief, was discovered, but the Turks immediately broke it in pieces. According to the description I have seen of it, the figures represented on it were a rider on horseback with his retinue." While at Rome, I was intimately acquainted with a Chaldaeo-Catholic priest, a united Nestorian from Armenia; he was a particularly well-educated and distinguished man, as generally all Eastern Christians are, when they have received a European education. They have an unquenchable thirst for mental culture and knowledge, which renders it the more deplorable, that they are doomed to live under Mahommedan tyranny. This man told me, that being a native of a village built on the ruins of Nineveh, he had often been present when bricks were dug out of the ground. In his time, he said, a colossal statue had been discovered by men ploughing a field; but the Mahommedans ordered it to be broken, as they do with every thing else that is brought to light. He also mentioned, that gems, with figures engraved on them, are found. There is no doubt, that, if excavations were made at Nineveh, and rightly conducted, many ancient trea-

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the latter established their first colonies in Asia Minor, is evident from recent discoveries. Eastern authorities are more thoroughly authentic for very early times than those of the West. Thus the account in the Old Testament about the Jewish kings, is as authentic as any history we have of the West, even looking apart from inspiration. The art of writing must have been known at Babylon at an extremely early period, no doubt even under the Median dynasty."—1826.

sures and inscriptions would be discovered. The circumference of the city on both sides of the Tigris measures several geographical miles.

The site of Babylon occupied a still more extensive space. "Herodotus calculates it at 480 stadia, or about 60 English miles; Diodorus and Strabo make it a little less." This enormous extent has often been the subject of ridicule, as if it were utterly fabulous, but from the most recent investigations of English travellers,[14] it appears that we cannot suppose the circumference to have been less. "The English consul at Bagdad, Mr. Rich, who had opportunities of staying there for some time, is of opinion, that Herodotus' statement is not exaggerated, and that without this supposition it would be unaccountable how the temple of Bel, together with the other immense ruins, could have been united together in one city.[15] Both Babylon and Nineveh were built in the form of a parallelogram, perhaps of a regular square. "But the walls of Babylon have disappeared from the earth." The ruins of some immensely large buildings, forming real hills, are still discernible; the situation of the temple of Bel (Birs-Nimrud) and of the royal palace, can probably be indicated with certainty; other sites cannot be so determined, for the ruins form at present shapeless heaps. Everywhere traces are visible of the ground having been dug into, for during the last 2000, or at least 1500 years, those ruins have been used by the neighbouring towns as quarries. The town of Helle, of the size of Bonn, is entirely built of bricks dug out at Babylon; it is probable that such bricks were used even in the building of Bagdad, as at this day all

[14] "My father was prevented by hostile Beduines from making a close examination of the ruins."—1826.

[15] "Mr. Rich correctly observes, that Babylon must not be conceived as a continuous city, like our towns; such a view would be opposed to the ruins themselves. The ground covering the ruins requires to be purified by rain and vegetation, and wherever this is not done, lime and saltpetre are formed, and no vegetation can thrive (this is the very opposite of the ruins at Rome and in Italy generally). In this manner, therefore, it is easy to distinguish the places which were occupied by houses from those which formed gardens and fields, and we can clearly see that a very large part of Babylon was not covered with houses."—1826.

buildings in the neighbourhood are constructed of them. "The material consists partly of burnt bricks, and partly of such as were formed of clay and dried in the burning sun. The remnants of the inner part of the house consist of the latter, for, owing to the frequent showers of rain, the entire buildings could not have been composed of them. Hence, also, the great buildings of the Babylonians were provided with air holes to prevent dampness. The burnt bricks are of the greatest perfection, surpassing even those of the Romans. Nearly all of them are stamped, and the larger ones are covered with long inscriptions, which have not yet been decyphered.[16] They remind us of the tradition, that in ancient times Seth or Sem wrote whatever was known of past ages partly on burnt and partly on unburnt bricks, that it might escape being destroyed both by water and by fire; for in the case of water dissolving the one set of bricks, the burnt ones would not be injured, and in case of fire, the dried ones would only be hardened. This tradition evidently indicates, that the knowledge of bygone times was conceived to have been thus preserved. There can, accordingly, be no doubt, that these bricks, many of which are now in England, are of the greatest importance. They would be most useful, if they contained historical accounts; it is possible, however, that they may contain only theosophy, or astronomical observations, or other things; but they are at any rate of great importance. The Greeks, like Callisthenes, expressly attest that the astronomical observations of the Babylonians were printed on bricks. There are also vases with hieroglyphics and cuneiform inscriptions. A stone with such inscriptions has also been found at Susa; it is said to have been removed, but what has become of it is unknown, though the English have diligently endeavoured to recover it. At present several monuments of the same kind are said to have been brought to light. When the Zend language shall be discovered, of which there is now great hope, there can be no doubt, that the

[16] "The Babylonians had no other writing material than palm leaves, and they had no hewn stones to make inscriptions; they accordingly used bricks, on which they impressed inscriptions by means of wooden stamps. Inscriptions could thus be multiplied *ad libitum*."—1826.

cuneiform writing of Persepolis will likewise be read, attempts at which have already been made. On the walls of that city there are three kinds of writing, one by the side of the other, and the characters of one of them resemble those on the Babylonian bricks and the so-called cylinders. When this cuneiform writing of Persepolis shall be discovered, we shall also be able to read the Babylonian inscriptions, and a new and wide field of Asiatic history will be thrown open. If the investigations are carried on systematically, history will be disentombed from the ruins of those cities, especially if European influence should be brought to bear upon those countries; and this would be a blessing which, I wish with all my heart, may be conferred upon the Christians of those countries who thirst after enlightenment and mental culture.[17] "The bricks are united together with lime or bitumen, the latter of which gushed from the earth near the ancient town of Is. They used it boiled and mixed, but it is not such a good cement as lime, which could be obtained with greater facility. It is hardly conceivable why they fetched an inferior material from a greater distance; but wherever the bricks are joined together with lime, they are so firmly united that they can be separated only by sawing; and this may have been the reason why bitumen was used when the bricks contained inscriptions; for where lime has been used, the characters are illegible. Herodotus' accounts of the walls have been confirmed by Mr. Rich, so that we have reason to suppose that his other statements are likewise correct. The walls were double and of immense thickness; their outside was covered with burned bricks, while the inside consisted of dried ones. They were fastened together with mud, and upon every fifth layer of bricks was placed a layer of reed. Why this was done we know not. Palm trees were the only timber they had; and those trees were far too useful to employ them as building materials. The largest building mentioned by the ancients, was the Temple of Bel, which was nothing else than the Tower of Babel. It is the same as the present Birs-Nimrud,

[17] Compare the note to O. Müller's essay on Sandon and Sardanapalus: in the *Rhein. Mus.* iii. p. 41.

as Mr. Rich has shown. Even my father had conjectured this, while Rennell and others had maintained that the temple must be looked for on the other side. This edifice was built like the Mexican pyramidal temples; it consisted of eight stories, the lowest of which had a circumference of a stadium; each succeeding one being smaller. A flight of stairs went round it to the highest story; at the top was the chapel of Bel. The whole formed a pyramid wanting the top point, exactly like the Mexican pyramids; it is inconceivable what can have been the cause of this resemblance. Other great buildings were the royal palaces, the new and the old one, the latter being the work of Nebucadnezar. A third great work was the suspended gardens, which are by no means fabulous, for the Greeks in Alexander's army still saw them, and the agreement between the descriptions of the Greeks and Berosus is striking."

LECTURE IV.

We have come to the time, when Babylon was subject to the kings of Nineveh; and I have already mentioned, that the Assyrian empire of Nineveh lasted for a much shorter period than is represented by Ctesias. The five hundred and twenty-six years which Berosus assigns to his sixth dynasty, form that period of Babylonian history, in which the dominion of Nineveh over Babylon was exercised in a manner which seems to show that the latter was no longer an independent kingdom, but only a satrapy of Nineveh. Even among the Greeks there was much uncertainty as to the synchronism of those five hundred and twenty-six years, so that some placed the end of this dynasty several hundred years earlier than others. If we suppose that the end of this dynasty coincides with the destruction of Nineveh, the latter event would fall about the thirty-fifth Olympiad;[1]

[1] This date occurs in all the manuscript notes. Niebuhr means to say, if the end of the Assyrian or sixth dynasty of Babylon coincided with the

this would indeed be still very far wrong, but not as much so as the common suppositions; for several of the ancients, such as Cephalaeon, placed it even one hundred years before the beginning of the Olympiads, that is, about two centuries and a half earlier. Another question is, whether these five hundred and twenty-six years of the Assyrian dynasty are to be understood as applying to the whole period of the empire of Nineveh; whether they begin with the establishment of a kingdom at Nineveh, or with the extension of the dominion of this dynasty over Babylon; and whether they go down to the destruction of Nineveh, or only to the time when a new dynasty arose in Babylon, which was sometimes dependent and sometimes independent of that of Nineveh. The correct view, probably, is, that those years form the period of the dynasty from its dominion over Babylon down to the rise of a new Babylonian dynasty.

The opinion that the destruction of Nineveh took place before the commencement of the Olympiads, an opinion which is based upon the statements of Ctesias, is completely at variance with all the passages of the Old Testament, especially those in the Prophets, in which the empire of Nineveh is mentioned after that time. This very proof, however, of the mistake of the Greeks, has led men to have recourse to the supposition, that after its destruction, Nineveh was rebuilt, and that thus a second Assyrian empire arose. But this is a worthless hypothesis, and altogether without foundation. It is, on the other hand, a fact which cannot be doubted, that in this Assyrian empire there reigned two

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destruction of Nineveh, the latter would belong to the first of the new dynasty (that of Nabopolassar), that is Olymp. 34, 1. But it falls between the seventeenth and twentieth year of Nabopolassar, that is, Olymp. 38. The end of the sixth dynasty, however, coincides with the beginning of the seventh, which precedes the eighth or that of Nabopolassar, and is lost in Berosus. See *Klein. Schrift.* i. p. 195, foll. The ground here taken is the version of the Canon, which places the beginning of Nabopolassar in the 104th of the era of Nabonassar. If we adopt the version which places him in the 123d year, the destruction of Nineveh, even if it belongs to the first year of Nabopolassar, does not belong to Olymp. 34, but to Olymp. 38. In 1826, Niebuhr seems to have adopted the second version, for he takes the first year of Nabopolassar to be identical with that of the destruction of Nineveh, placing both events in Olymp. 38, 4.—Ed.

dynasties, of which the first ended with one Belochus or Beleus, and the second began with a king, Belitaras, who placed himself on the throne. It is possible that this change may have given rise to the great revolution, in which the nations of Upper Asia shook off the Assyrian yoke: certain it is, that such a revolution did take place. Herodotus expressly states, that the Assyrians possessed the dominion over Upper Asia for 520 years, and that the Medes, after casting off the rule of the Assyrians, lived without kings. It must, however, be observed, that he himself states, that the Assyrians, even after the loss of their dominion over Upper Asia, did not cease to be a flourishing state, which soon recovered itself, though it did not regain the sovereignty of those countries. The time of this dissolution of the great Assyrian empire is fixed for all times by the Babylonian era of Nabonassar, "an era which is firmly established in history by the observations of eclipses of the sun and moon." The beginning of this era is the first year of the eighth Olympiad, B. C. 748. I have nothing against it, if historians will apply the term "second Assyrian empire" to the Assyrian monarchy, from the time when it lost its supremacy in Asia, and did not recover that of Media and Persia; but the idea which we find in otherwise meritorious books —as in that of Gatterer who follows Ctesias—that after the death of Sardanapalus a new empire of Nineveh arose, is incorrect. The destruction of Nineveh belongs to a much later time, than is supposed by those who adopt this hypothesis. Sardanapalus, or whatever his real name may have been, in short, the king who destroyed himself with his capital, belongs to the time of Cyaxares and Nabopolassar: with him Nineveh perished, and after him, the empire never rose again.

After the breaking up of the great Assyrian empire, Babylon was again independent, though it did not always remain so. In the course of time it again became a dependency of the Assyrian empire; it became a vassal kingdom, the throne of which was sometimes filled by the Assyrian kings with their sons and relatives, and the princes of which were always in a dependent condition, being obliged to obey Nineveh, until in the end Nabopolassar broke the yoke entirely.

The Canon of Ptolemy enables us to restore the lists of the

Babylonian kings, but this would lead us too much into detail, and is foreign to our purpose.[2]

The lists of the kings of Assyria, on the other hand, cannot be restored; those which we find in Ctesias and other Greek writers, deserve no credit. We may, indeed, begin with Phul, whom we meet with as the first in the Books of Kings, who is the first ruler known to us, and before whom all is uncertain; but after him the succession is again unknown, for it is doubtful whether between Phul and Sanherib the kings succeeded one another without interruption in the order in which they occur in history, or whether they are gaps in the lists.[3]

[2] "Who Nabonassar was, whether he was a satrap or a king, we do not know; his name is genuine Chaldaic. This much is certain, that from the beginning of his era, Babylon was again governed by independent kings. He is said to have destroyed the records of the astronomical observations made before his time; but this cannot be believed. The canon of the Chaldaean kings is known to us from the Μεγάλη Σύνταξις of Ptolemy: a very valuable work, of great astronomical authenticity, if it is but rightly understood. For how can this Σύνταξις be made to agree with Berosus? The connexion is this. The period from Nabonassar down to the destruction of Nineveh, did not pass away in a quiet and undisturbed succession of kings, but the succession was repeatedly interrupted. The Assyrians, during this period, often gained the sovereignty, and the Babylonians had again to emancipate themselves. The time that they were governed by foreigners was not marked by the Chaldaeans; thus they added the years of the reign of Assarhaddon to those of his predecessor Mardokempad. Analogous cases are often met with in the East, as that of the Seleucid Demetrius, under whose name money continued to be coined after his death, it being intended to preserve his kingdom for his son. Hence the χρόνος ἀβασίλευτος which sometimes occurs in the canon of Ptolemy."—1826.

[3] "From Scripture we know the Assyrian kings who, in order to extend their dominion towards Egypt, made war upon Palestine, and were very successful. It is pleasing to find the confirmation of these accounts in Berosus. In Ctesias there occur none of these kings, because his lists are fictitious; nor are they found in the astronomical canon because it gives only the Babylonian kings. Phul, who occurs in Scripture, is mentioned also by Berosus: but whether he also noticed the subsequent conquerors is unknown, in consequence of the meagreness of our extracts. Sanherib, it is true, is mentioned, but this king was more closely connected with Babylon, of which Berosus wrote the history. It is clear, from Scripture, that in the early period of the Jewish kings, the Assyrians did not possess Syria and Palestine, while in other directions their dominion may have ex-

The Assyrian empire, after having received a shock through the revolution, rose again by fresh activity, and displayed extraordinary energy. "The belief that it had before been unwarlike is based only on the fabulous accounts of Ctesias." But however ridiculous the tales about the effeminacy and luxuriousness of the descendants of Ninus may be in their present form, still it is possible, that they may have neglected everything by which alone an Eastern despotic empire can exist, and that their overthrow afterwards was a matter of little difficulty. But from the time when we again meet with their successors in history, the Assyrian kings are warriors and conquerors, who command their armies in person. Thus we first meet Phul, who as a warlike conqueror terrified the empires of Damascus and Israel; such also was Tiglath-Pilassar, who led a portion of the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity; and such was Salmanassar, who completed the transplantation of the Ten Tribes, which had been commenced by his predecessors, although all the people were not carried away from their country, any more than Nebucadnezar led all the Jews into exile. Salmanassar destroyed the kingdom of Israel, and previous to this event all Syria had been obliged to submit to him. His empire extended even into Asia Minor; but how far it there extended, cannot be ascertained. We may indeed, suppose, that what are called the White Syrians, on the Euxine, were colonists of Nineveh: but we do not know whether they established themselves there at this time, or whether they had gone thither at the time of the earlier Assyrian ascendancy. Salmanassar was succeeded by Sanherib, who plays an equally great part in Scripture, in Herodotus, and Berosus. Even in Egypt, his memory was celebrated on account of the expedition with which he had threatened that country under its king, Sethon. This is according to all appearance the same expedition

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tended very far. Now it appears surprising, that after the loss of their highest power, the Assyrians should spread over Syria and Egypt; but we find a similar extension of the Carthaginian empire over Spain after their losses in the first Punic war. Similar risings after misfortunes are not unfrequent in history. Such also was the case with England after its loss of the American colonies."—1826.

which we know from Isaiah to have been directed agaist King Hiskiah of Jerusalem, and during which Sanherib's army was attacked by the plague, routed and destroyed. "The same events are recorded by Herodotus, though in a less dignified manner;" when we are told that on that occasion the bows were destroyed by the mice, we must take this as a mere symbolic representation. In the time of Sanherib, Babylon acknowledged the supremacy of Assyria, and had, perhaps, even been compelled to submit to Salmanassar. Hagisah, a brother of Sanherib, was king of Babylon, but that kingdom revolted, and Hagisah was slain. Merodach-Baladan, who is also mentioned by Isaiah in the history of the Jewish king, Hiskiah, then raised himself to the throne, and sent an embassy to Hiskiah, endeavouring to form an alliance with him against their common enemy, the dreaded king of the Assyrians. (It is not the intention of Isaiah here to give a chronological account.) Merodach-Baladan soon lost his life, and another King, Elibus, who usurped the throne, was again subdued by Sanherib. Sennacherib, notwithstanding his unsuccessful expedition against Jerusalem and Egypt, acquired the same reputation in Asia as the other great conquerors. He was murdered by Adramelech and Sarezer, who, according to Scripture, were his brothers. He had placed Assarhaddon, one of his sons, on the throne of Babylon as a vassal king; and this son now returned to Nineveh, overpowered the murderers of his father, and after their expulsion, himself occupied the throne of his father. Hereupon Assarhaddon undertook fresh expeditions, and went into Asia Minor, whither Sanherib had already gone before him. Here we have certain traces showing how far the Assyrian power then extended, inasmuch as we know that Sanherib founded Tarsus in Cilicia.[4] Assarhaddon was stirred up by the ravaging inroads of nomadic barbarians from the north,

[4] "The date of this event is given by Berosus. The well-known statue of Sardanapalus near Tarsus, which was seen by the companions of Alexander, was nothing but a statue of Sanherib; for being the founder of Tarsus, he caused a colossal statue to be there erected to himself. This is evident from Eusebius, and Sardanapalus disappears" (Nacke, *De Choerilo Samio*).—1826. (Compare the note on O. Müller's Sandon and Sardanapalus in the *Rhein. Mus.* iii. p. 40, foll.—Ed.)

the Treres or Cimmerians. This is the most ancient trace which we find of these incursions. That all accounts must not be referred to one invasion, is expressly indicated by the ancients, for Strabo says, that these inroads were frequently repeated. Those nations first appear in Asia Minor,[5] and their invasions attracted the Assyrian arms to those quarters. Assarhaddon reigned eight years. He was succeeded by Sammughes, or perhaps Saosduchin, who reigned twenty-one years, and was succeeded by Sardanapalus, whose reign lasted equally long, and whose name is as correct as that of the other kings. I see no reason why it should not be so, for as in the first name of Tiglath-Pilassar, we clearly perceive that of the river Tigris, so the latter is composed of Pal or Pil, which signifies *celebrated*, and the termination *assar*, which also occurs in Salmanassar (Salman is connected with Salomon and Soleiman). The syllable *Pal* occurring in the middle of Tiglath-Pilassar, forms the end of the name Sardanapalus, to which the termination *us* is appended.

In the reign of Sardanapalus, the kingdoms of Media and Babylonia united against Nineveh; both had already been independent states, Media ever since its deliverance from Assyria, and Babylonia appears to have firmly established its independence under the long reign of Nabopolassar; and Nineveh fell in the war which the two combined now waged against it. Herodotus promises to speak elsewhere more minutely about the conquest of Nineveh; as to the time of the event, he places it in the reign of Cyaxares of Media. These accounts agree admirably with the statements of the Old Testament, that it was the father

[5] "The general opinion, which is also presupposed in Herodotus, is, that the Cimmerians invaded Asia Minor from the east, along the coasts of the Euxine. But it would seem, that, on the contrary, they came through Thrace, for they make their first appearance in Ionia and Lydia. The former road is almost entirely impassable for a nomadic people, as the Caucasus extends to the very shores of the Euxine. Herodotus connects their later inroads under Ardys with the invasion of Media by the Scythians. But it is quite natural, that the latter, on their arrival at the passes of Derbend, also proceeded further to the paradise-like country of Media; and the pursuit of the Cimmerians by the Scythians is only an imaginary addition."—1826. (Compare *Klein. Schrift.* i. p. 364, foll.—Ed.)

of Nebucadnezar who allied himself with Media for the destruction of Nineveh: and that father was Nabopolassar.

While reaping the advantages of the epic mode of dealing with our subject, we must also bear its disadvantages. We should like indeed to have a synchronistic view of this period; but the plan of Trogus obliges us, for the present, to go back, and to put aside the synchronistic method.

"The origin of the Median monarchy belongs to the time of the era of Nabonassar, that is, the time at which, according to Herodotus, the dominion of the Assyrians over Upper Asia ceased, or B. C. 748. Whether this was really the beginning of Median independence, it is impossible to say with certainty. From the Babylonian dynasties of Berosus, we see that the Medes had already had a history, and that Herodotus is unacquainted with their earliest period." The latter relates, that after having shaken off the yoke of the Assyrians, the Medes for a time lived in a state of anarchy and without rulers. This reminds us of the anarchy in Palestine, which is mentioned in the last chapter of Judges, that is, of the time when there was no king of Israel, a state of things which also occurs elsewhere in the East. But the accounts of Herodotus concerning Media do not belong to those in regard to which we can place implicit faith in him. It is impossible for one man, even if he had the most comprehensive mind, and if he were ever so circumspect, to have equally good authorities for all things, and to gain equally trustworthy information upon every subject. It may be that Herodotus sometimes yielded to the common weakness of man, and confidently related things, though he had insufficient authorities for his statements; and this seems to me to have been the case in his accounts of Media, where he appears to have been imposed upon by deceitful narratives. In his accounts about Assyria and Babylonia, on the other hand, he is excellent; being guided by most accurate information. He was himself at Babylon, consulted many of the Babylonian sages and the Chaldaeans, and he may have understood Aramaic and Chaldaic; but the Medes were a different nation, of whose language he probably did not understand a syllable. Thus he seems not to have received his information about Media directly from the mouth of

the Medes, but at second hand. I do not say this as if I meant to supplant his narrative by another, for I do not see how this could be done; but it is possible, that Ctesias' statement respecting Media and Persia may be deserving of greater attention. Those of Herodotus are damaged by internal improbability. He sets out with a supposition altogether incorrect, representing the Medes in a condition quite different from that in which they actually were. He evidently conceives them to have at the beginning been a small people, smaller perhaps than, for example, the tribe of the Boeotians in Greece; so that a single individual might be the arbitrator among his countrymen. During the first period of their independence, he says, they lived in anarchy; when they were tired of this, they applied to a wise man to act as arbitrator in their disputes. But the wise man refused, saying, that, if he was to be their judge, they must make him their king, whereupon they elected him king. This man was Deioces. The whole story shows manifest traces of an arbitrary mode of viewing the origin of the state, and appears to indicate only the manner in which the Medes may have conceived the origin of regal power; and this notion seems in the traditions of their history to have been transferred to Deioces.[6] The succession of the Median kings in Herodotus is likewise quite incredible; the

[6] "If we divest the account of Herodotus of that which is incredible in it, it resolves itself into this, that after shaking off the Assyrian yoke, the Medes for a time lived in separate tribes and without a king, and that then they were united by Deioces into one nation. Herodotus does not mention the year of this event, and as we do not accurately know the first years which Cyrus ruled over the Medes, we are unable to calculate backwards. The number of years of the duration of the Median empire down to Cyrus in Herodotus is corrupt: according to my emendation of the passage, he reckons the duration of the Median empire at 150 years. If we suppose that Cyrus reigned, at the utmost, 20 years before he took Babylon, the period of the anarchy among the Medes, would amount to 40 years, or about one generation."—1826. (150+20+39=209. Comp. *Klein. Schrift.* i. p. 197, foll.) It is to be observed, that according to the calculation there made on p. 199, there are 19 years too few for the period between Nabonassar and Cyrus. If we add these 19 years to the period there made out for the anarchy (26 years), and deduct the difference of 6 years between the chronological statements of Herodotus and Berosus respecting the sovereignty of Assyria, we obtain the above number, 39.—Ed.

periods assigned to the reign of each are far too long. On this point "where he followed only general accounts," he appears to have erred, but wherever he had himself an opportunity of observing he is quite trustworthy. In like manner his account of Solon cannot possibly be true. According to his list, Media was first subdued by barbarous tribes as early as the reign of Cyaxares, the grandson of Deioces; it subsequently shook off this yoke, and then going again to the other extreme, established its sovereignty over Upper Asia, and destroyed the ancient Assyrian empire of Nineveh.

"The Median dynasty began with the foundation of Ecbatana, for this was the custom of Eastern dynasties; they either built new capitals, or at least took other towns for their residence. Previously, Herodotus says, the Medes lived only in villages. The Median kings were hostile to the Assyrian rulers of Nineveh, but for a long time were not able to effect anything against them, and their attempts to subdue the Assyrian empire were unsuccessful. But after the death of Assarhaddon, under Sammughes and Sardanapalus, the last kings of Nineveh, they appear to have subdued Armenia, and their empire must have extended as far as the river Halys. The later kings of Nineveh were no doubt confined to Assyria Proper. The complete conquest of Nineveh was delayed by the invasions of the Scythians."

The account in Herodotus of the migrations of the Scythians is strange and incredible. It is an undoubted fact, that in the last period of Nineveh, perhaps under Sammughes, soon after Assarhaddon's death, the Scythians, "perhaps a branch of those who had expelled the Cimmerians from their seats,"[7] came through the passes of Derbend, between Mount Caucasus and the Caspian sea, into Asia, and for a considerable period, which is calculated at twenty-eight years, ruled over Upper Asia, as in later times the Turkish tribes did, and as the Mongols ruled over Persia and Russia. The account of their dominion is very credible in itself; we might almost believe that we were reading a description of the manner in which the Mongols acted in Russia, where they ordered the people to pay a poll-tax, as a price for

[7] Comp. p. 32.—Ed.

their lives, and at the same time divided the land among themselves, and arbitrarily indulged in robbery and violence in the country. Such is the description which Herodotus gives of the Scythians. "They first invaded Media, a country then cultivated like a garden; its paradise-like nature itself offered every inducement to cultivation, and drew those wretched shepherds from their desolate regions. Cyaxares, who was then king, met them and was defeated by them." There they had their real seats, thence they spread over all Asia, and afterwards we find them in Syria. "This invasion is described in the prophet Ezekiel[8] and elsewhere." They cannot have passed by Assyria and Babylonia without doing some injury to them; but these kingdoms probably purchased their exemption, as was done by the Egyptians. For after having subdued Media, they marched against Egypt, but King Psammetichus or Necho induced them by means of presents to depart. After twenty-eight years, it is said, the Medes, in a general insurrection, threw off their dominion. The surviving Scythians "were compelled to return to their ancient seats, where, in the mean time, the nations subject to them had emancipated themselves; this is described as if their slaves had usurped the government." Some, fleeing into Lydia, entered the service of King Alyattes. Such are the first certain accounts of the inroads of nomadic people that are preserved in history; but they are not the most ancient of all, for we have even before had occasion to mention inroads of barbarous nations, the Treres and Cimmerians, who came across the Hellespont.

Herodotus further relates, that Cyaxares, after having previously carried on wars, and having been twenty-eight years under the dominion of the Scythians (as the Russian princes lived under the Khan of the golden horde), expelled the Scythians and attacked and conquered Nineveh. Berosus here comes in to supplement the account, for he distinctly informs us, that Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, who had no doubt gained his independence even during the period of the confusion produced by the Scythian inroads, allied himself with the king of Media

[8] Some MS. notes have "Habakkuk" instead of "Ezekiel."—Ed.

against Nineveh, by uniting his son Nebucadnezar in marriage with the Median princess Amuhia. This is the same occurrence which is related in the otherwise doubtful traditions of Ctesias, under the names of Belesis and Arbaces. The king, with whom Nabopolassar allied himself, is called by Berosus, Asdahag; and the Milanese editors of Eusebius mention from Moses of Chorene, that this name signifies "dragon," and was a common name of the Median kings. Asdahag, however, is the same name as Cyaxares; Ki or Kai is a prefix signifying in Persian, "king," just as in the Persian and Seljukian names, Kaikobad, Kaikaus, Kaikosru. The simple names are Kobad, Kaus, Kosru; and proper names have, by compounding, been formed from them. In this manner Cyaxares is formed out of Kai-Axar. But Axar and Asdahag are the same names, just as Artaxerxes and Arthachsastha are one and the same thing. Berosus uses the form Asdahag according to the Chaldaic, whereas in Greek his name was perhaps Axares; at any rate Cyaxares and Asdahag are the same name. The daughter of Cyaxares, who cemented the alliance, and whom we called above Amuhia, is named by others Aroite; she is evidently no other than the Nitocris of Herodotus, "who ascribes to her such stupendous works, though probably she did not execute them herself, or at least only the smaller portion of them." It was Nebucadnezar, who having succeeded his father Nabopolassar on the throne, built for her the suspended gardens at Babylon, to procure her a substitute for the hills of Media. She was born in a mountainous country, and it is very probable, that on coming into the plains of Babylon,—the greatest in the ancient world, which can be compared only with those of China,—she was disgusted with them, and entreated Nebucadnezar to create hills for her. Immense brick walls were constructed to imitate hills; and earth was accumulated upon them, in which gardens and groves were laid out. Remnants of these vaulted gardens are probably still discernible. Nebucadnezar in Berosus bears the name Nabucodrossor, which may be its genuine Babylonian form. Among his successors we meet with the name Labrossoarchod, which contains the same roots.[9]

[9] "It is remarkable, that all the names of the Babylonian kings are not, like those of the kings of Nineveh, of Aramaean character. This certainly

"This much is historically certain, that the Assyrian empire was destroyed by the united Babylonians and Medes; and the year of this event is probably the 123d year of the Nabonassarian era, that is, Olymp. 38, 4, or B. C. 625."[10]

LECTURE V.

THE city of Nineveh was destroyed in the catastrophe of Sardanapalus, and the destruction must have been complete. It appears, indeed, that at a later time a town of Nineveh, or Ninus, still occurs, but this can only have been a small and insignificant place, built upon the ruins of ancient Nineveh, just as there existed a new Carthage after the destruction of the old one. "Herodotus speaks of Nineveh as of a city no longer in existence, and Xenophon knows nothing about it." Its being mentioned by later writers only shows that its destruction belonged to a recent date. A proof that Nineveh still existed at a much later period than is generally supposed, is contained in the Greek verses, which became proverbial:—

. . . . . πόλις ἐν σκοπέλῳ κατὰ κόσμον
οἰκεῦσα σμικρὴ, κρείσσων Νίνου ἀφραινούσης.

For, when they were composed, Ninus must evidently have been still in existence; and it did exist for a long time in the manner described in the Prophets. Hence we need not refer the

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seems to show that they did not belong to an indigenous race, nor to an Aramaean dynasty. But whether the further extension of our knowledge of Eastern languages may perhaps show that there is a connexion with the Zend languages, or will furnish other means of explanation, we cannot say; if it should be the case, it would be very gratifying."

[10] In the passage here given, Niebuhr calls the year in which Nineveh was destroyed, the first year of Nabopolassar. Comp. above p. 28, note 1.—ED.

sermon of the prophet Jonah to an earlier time; it belongs to the later period of the kings of Israel and Judah.[1]

"The Median empire now perhaps extended from the Halys to India. Babylon ruled over Babylonia itself and Syria, and formed an independent state. The Phoenician cities on the coast were independent of either; Cilicia was a kingdom by itself; and in the west there existed those states which afterwards formed the kingdom of Lydia."

In order not to anticipate too much, I will for the present break off the history of Babylon in the reign of Nabopolassar, to take it up again in a subsequent part of these lectures, and will return to earlier times, which do not indeed extend, like the Babylonian history, to 2,000 years before the time of Alexander, but which, if we adopt accounts that cannot be disregarded notwithstanding all our scruples, extend further back than the period of the greatness of Nineveh. I allude to the history of ancient Egypt.

In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and somewhat later than the time of Berosus, Manetho, a priest of Sebennytus, wrote the ancient history of Egypt in three tomes.[2] He states, that he derived his materials from ancient documents of the country, and rational criticism cannot have the least doubt as to the truth of this assertion. Even before the discovery which enables us to read hieroglyphics, it would have been irrational to reject his authority; but now his statements are confirmed by Champollion having read the names of the Egyptian kings. The succession of the later kings has been found on a monument at Abydos, in the same order in which it is given by Manetho; the monument

[1] In 2 Kings, xiv. 25, Jonah is placed under Jeroboam II., that is, B. C. 800. Niebuhr cannot mean to place him much later, as the kingdom of Israel was destroyed as early as fifty years after the death of Jeroboam.—Ed.

[2] "Τόμος properly signifies a roll of papyrus, like βιβλίον. This expression, which was afterwards frequently used, seems to have been applied at Alexandria chiefly to Egyptian books, for Τόμος is the term always used in speaking of Manetho. It occurs down to the ninth century of our era. The *tomus* of Leo the Great is so called, because his proposals, which were sent to the council, happened to be written on a roll of papyrus."

indeed is not complete, but we can see the agreement from its beginning. Whether his earlier dynasties are historical, is another question. He began with the government of the native gods of Phtha (the θεοί); they were succeeded by a dynasty of demigods (ἡμιθεοί), and these again by one of deceased beings (νέκυες), who likewise were not human beings. What they conceived the third dynasty to have been, I am unable to say; but it will not be long before a more accurate knowledge than I have, will be the common property of all, and then the mystery will be removed. Now, when persons maintain, that although these three dynasties are fabulous, the first human dynasty of Manetho may yet be historically true, I do not, indeed, deny the possibility of its being true, but it does not appear to me probable. I doubt it not only on account of the immense length of time, but much more on account of the contents of the monuments which have hitherto been deciphered.[3] No one can doubt the explanation of the names of the kings in the hieroglyphics, although many other things are still questioned, and even the most violent and disingenuous opponents of Champollion admit that he has correctly explained the proper names in the inscriptions. Now, all the monuments that can be explained, and even those which bear marks of being the most ancient, do not give any names which go farther back than to that dynasty, which Manetho calls the eighteenth, and which is a dynasty of Diospolis. But the following is another reason for rejecting the earlier dynasties as unhistorical, a reason which is not sufficiently considered: it is this—that nearly all of them are placed in Lower Egypt, which cannot have existed at so early a period, or, according to the nature of the country, could at least

[3] "Subsequently to the government of the gods and heroes, Manetho enumerated thirty dynasties. He closed with Nectanebos, the last native Egyptian king, who lost his throne and his life under Artaxerxes Ochus. The later Persian and Macedonian kings were not reckoned by him as dynasties. His lists of kings are preserved in Syncellus, who used Julius Africanus as his authority, and from him we see that Eusebius committed forgeries, in order to make those lists agree with his chronology. Unfortunately the names and numbers are very corrupt in the only manuscript we have of Syncellus: his accounts, moreover, are extremely meagre. Manetho himself gave not only a dry list, but wrote a real history."—1826.

not be the seat of government. For, from the present elevation of Lower Egypt, it may be calculated, that at the time of the eighteenth dynasty, it must have been for the most part uninhabited. "It was quite a correct notion of the ancients, that, in early times, the valley of the Nile was an estuary: the Delta is altogether a marshy country."

We are indebted for much information upon this question to the work of Flavius Josephus against the Egyptian, Apion. The controversy between them was carried on like many others, each party proceeding from different points of view, and occupying different grounds, on which they could not possibly come to an understanding. Apion denied the national originality of the Jews, and declared them to be a mixed people (σύγκλυδες), or a sect which had been formed by the admixture of several other tribes. As regards the Jews, existing at that time in Palestine and Egypt, the assertion was quite correct; for the number of Jews who had returned from Persia, was very small, and the immense mass of proselytes that had been admitted, constituted the majority among the followers of the Jewish religion, and among those who bore the name of Jews; but it was foolish, and perhaps altogether untrue, for Apion to apply this to the condition of the Jews before this transplantation by Nebucadnezar. He overlooked the remarkable fact, that, previous to the destruction of the temple, the ancient Jewish nation stood in no relation to the Jews then living; and in former times they had been a race extending and ruling far and wide. This fact no honest inquirer can deny; but if we did not know it from the Old Testament, we should not be able to contradict the assertion of Apion. Apion, therefore, as I said before, attacked the nationality of the Jews from his own point of view, and it was owing to this dispute that Flavius Josephus quoted such highly important statements from Eastern historians, from Berosus concerning Chaldaea, from Manetho concerning Egypt, and from Menander and other Tyrian historians concerning Phoenicia. How accurately Berosus agrees with the history of the Jews, has already been shown; but he does not so agree with Manetho. This is very surprising and mysterious; but it is not our business here to attempt a reconciliation between the two, and we must make

use of the statement preserved by Josephus. In much later times, it is indeed our duty and our maxim, to arrange all things intelligibly, and to place them in their proper relation to one another, but in reference to those early ages, we must submit to a great many things remaining unintelligible.

Now, Josephus quotes from Manetho this precious piece of information: in the period of the fourteenth dynasty, a nomadic people invaded Egypt in great swarms, it conquered and ravaged all the country; *completely destroyed the temples and all the monuments;* ruled over the country for five hundred years in a tyrannical manner, and established the seat of government in a town called Avaris, in the nomos Sethroites, resembling in magnitude a whole province. In this manner, he says, Egypt was cruelly oppressed by them, until an Egyptian, Misphragmuthosis, began to shake off their yoke. Under his son, Thuthmosis, the strangers, shut up in their own city, were obliged, after a long siege, to capitulate for a free departure into Syria, "and went to Judaea. Thus they appear as the ancestors of the Jews." The Egyptian name of this nomadic people is Hycsos, the meaning of which is very doubtful, for according to some it was *shepherd-kings*, and according to others *captive shepherds*. The length of time which had elapsed between the dominion of the Hycsos and the time of Manetho accounts for the fact that it was obscure even to him. The age of the Hycsos was as far removed from Manetho as that of King Theodoric is from us; and as the etymology of Anglo-Saxon or Gothic words is difficult for us, so the ancient Egyptian language was, in the time of Manetho, for the most part forgotten and obscure.

The statement that the Hycsos destroyed all the monuments of the earlier times, seems in reality but a clumsy disguise of the fact that Egyptian history did not go farther back than that period. The Egyptians, it seems, ought to have been contented with possessing a history extending as far backwards as, according to our calculations, the age of Abraham; but they wanted to ascend still higher, and hence they had recourse to the fabrication of a series of dynasties, for the times preceding the invasion of the Hycsos. These dynasties were certainly not invented by Manetho, but had long before him been established in Egyptian

histories. Such an interpolation of history by a bold creation of ancient names, is quite in accordance with the spirit of Eastern nations. I consider the thirteen dynasties between the νέκυες and the Hycsos to be as unhistorical as the dynasties of the gods, and I shall, therefore, begin with the eighteenth dynasty. I shall, however, notwithstanding this supposition, employ the number of this dynasty as a general name, without attaching any importance to the correctness of the computation.

The Hycsos, no doubt, are those who, as even an unlearned but observing eye may perceive, are represented on the monuments of the eighteenth dynasty at Thebes and Ipsambul, as the conquered and most ancient enemies of the Egyptians. In these painted bas-reliefs, the Egyptians are seen fighting with different nations; some of them are probably Libyans, others are negroes, and others, again, show by their attire that they are Aramaeans; but very different are the representations of the humiliation of a people, which according to the observation of the architect, M. Gau, who has collected those monuments, shows incontestably a Jewish physiognomy. Champollion, too, said, that according to all appearance the captives must be Jews or Arabs. The indescribable hatred of the Egyptians against these Hycsos "is frequently manifest in the monuments: a red Egyptian has before him a yellow Asiatic in chains, or stamps upon him." The hatred went so far, that among the numberless Egyptian antiquities we also find a quantity of painted papyrus sandals, in the interior of which a Hycsos is represented, so that the Egyptian, on putting his foot into the sandal, put it upon his enemy. "And these were common shoes, every Egyptian thus indulging in his hatred." This hatred unmistakably shows that long protracted wars and struggles had taken place between the Jewish people, or rather the race to which it belonged, and the ancient Egyptians. But how the accounts of Manetho are to be reconciled with those in the Books of Moses, I am unable to say; for in the latter the Jews appear in the land of Goshen not as rulers, but as oppressed subjects, who quit the country in order to become free. The outlines of the history of the eighteenth dynasty will be found in the immensely important monuments, with the publication of which Champollion is at present occupied; and it is part of his

task to give these outlines; and from him we shall perhaps learn, that the struggles with the Hycsos are the struggles for the deliverance of Egypt from their yoke.

The description which Herodotus in his second book gives of the condition of Egypt, is perfectly trustworthy and beautiful, so far as he himself had an opportunity of observing; but in regard to the historical part the case is different, for he wrote down the history as it was related to him by the Egyptian priests. He himself understood nothing of the Egyptian language, was unable to read the hieroglyphics, and was obliged to receive, in regard to everything, that which the priests thought fit to tell him. The authority of Herodotus has been maintained against Manetho; but this is quite wrong, for in point of credibility, Herodotus cannot be compared with Manetho. The latter was a native of the country, and could make use of the ancient documents; so that he stands far higher than Herodotus, who is himself quite aware of the deceitful disposition of the Egyptian priests. Thus, in the story of the clerk of the temple at Elephantina, when on being questioned about the course of the Nile the man gave some foolish answer, Herodotus indeed recorded it, but added the remark, "he seemed, however, to me to be joking." The whole narrative of the period before Psammetichus is without value; but from that time it is historical and excellent; for this portion of his history Herodotus did not receive from priests, but from people who, answering to the Indian half-caste, were descended from the Ionian and Carian soldiers who had married Egyptian women. This class of people, a kind of mulattoes who, belonging to no caste, formed an intermediate race called ἑρμηνεῖς, spoke both languages: from these unhappy people he derived his account of the dynasty of Psammetichus, and his narrative is trustworthy, so far as it can be so, considering that it is a tradition.[4]

But so far as Herodotus describes his own observations, everything is trustworthy, accurate and excellent. Thus he clearly

[4] "Herodotus does not say whether he made his travels as a merchant or as a mere traveller. I suspect that the Greeks, as is still the case with travellers in the East, generally tried to procure themselves the means for travelling, by trading with the people whom they visited."—1826.

perceived, that the soil of Egypt was rising by the yearly deposits of the Nile remaining behind after the inundation. At present the progress of that elevation can be traced far better through the course of so many centuries, and his observations are seen to be perfectly correct; we are enabled to confirm them and carry them out with still greater precision. It is inconceivable that down to our own times people have been blind to this fact; and my father was the first who again made the observation, that the Nile annually leaves a deposit behind it. In one place where the bank of the Nile had broken down, he found a number of strata, which were placed upon one another like layers of paper. In places where the succession of strata is not disturbed by agriculture, as by the water side, the uppermost layer acquires through the heat of the sun such a hardness, that it remains distinct from the lower deposit, and a year later is solid enough to resist the dissolving influence of the water. Thus the upper and lower strata remain distinct, just as in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh thin strata of coal are found between layers of sandstone.

The learned, from overbearing ignorance, have had recourse to the strangest hypotheses, and have made difficulties in which there is no sense. They have denied the elevation, because, they say, if it had continued from the day of Herodotus, Egypt would have extended farther into the sea than it does. But Egypt actually has extended farther into the sea, "and in the interior the country has risen still more than towards the sea, where downs were gradually formed. Many tracts which were overflowed in ancient times, are no longer reached by the Nile. The inundation which Herodotus describes as occurring throughout Egypt, happens at present only in the neighbourhood of Damietta." In his time many districts, which are now filled up and form a high land, were complete swamps, τὰ ἕλη τῆς Αἰγύπτου, for example, and a great portion of the Delta, which now forms a firm clay soil. In like manner, some of the great ancient lakes, as the one near Pelusium, are now partly changed into marshes, and partly have become high and arable land. While Upper Egypt has lost land by being covered with sand, far more land has been gained in Lower Egypt, which is now cultivated to a greater extent than in ancient times. This change, by which

the banks of the Nile have been raised, necessarily raised the bed of the river also; but the latter has taken place only towards the mouth of the river, and the consequence of this is, that the mouth has become more and more obstructed by the accumulation of sand. In ancient times it was possible to sail in galleys up the river as far as Memphis; nay, as late as 400 years ago, the Venetians sailed a considerable distance up the river, while at present it is scarcely possible to enter the river with small boats. Had the Nile, like the Rhine in the Netherlands, been dammed in by dykes, the bed of the river would have become higher than the surrounding country; fortunately for Egypt, this has not been done, but towards the sea, the bed of the river has become so much higher, that the navigation from the sea becomes more and more difficult. The mouth of the river advances but very slowly, the Etesiae keeping back the water of the Nile; if they did not blow at the season when the Nile is high, the deposit of the Nile would be carried farther, and Egypt would increase more rapidly. The Po, which has no opposition to encounter, quickly pushes its mouth forward; this is less the case with the mouth of the Mississippi, the current from the gulph of Mexico running against it.[5]

Egypt is said to have been called in the language of the Egyptians Chemi, whence the name of chemistry, the science of the Egyptians. The Aramaeans called it Mizraim, that is, water; but in Scripture the father of Mizraim is called Cham, which is the root of Chemi. The Egyptian people, as seen on the ancient monuments, cannot be recognized in the present inhabitants of the country. The modern Egyptian has, indeed, very hard and rough features, but his form is very much like that of Asiatics, and there is no essential difference between him and the Arab. The peasantry is mixed with Arabs; the Copts, who have remained unmixed, are said to differ more from the Arabs. In

[5] The three preceding paragraphs, from the words, "The description which Herodotus," etc., have been transferred to this place from the end of the sixth Lecture, for the purpose of restoring a more consistent order. The remark on Carsten Niebuhr's observation of the strata in the deposits of the Nile, has been taken from the remarks on lake Moeris in the seventh Lecture.—Ed.

the Greek documents which have been discovered in Egypt, there occurs a very remarkable peculiarity, which will throw light on many particulars in the personal relations among the Egyptians during the period of the Ptolemies. The Egyptians had only a very small number of names, and in order that in legal documents there might be no doubt as to the identity of persons, they went in their precaution so far, as not only to mention the name of the father, but to add a description of the persons concerned in any transaction. A person was described as the son of so and so, as born in this or that place, so many years old, etc. Now in these descriptions we meet with inhabitants of two different colours, for we find black and yellow Egyptians mentioned. But whether a portion of the ancient inhabitants actually belonged to the Ethiopian race, or whether the black colour had arisen from intercourse and mixture with the Cushites and Negroes, is a point on which at present we can only raise a question, but its solution will soon be found. In the mummies too we see different forms. Blumenbach has shown, that in regard to the formation of the skull, the ancient Egyptians were a race essentially different from all the surrounding tribes; their teeth, in particular, are very peculiar, and differ entirely from those of all the other known races of men, by their very great breadth, which is not found any where else, but is of too frequent occurrence among the Egyptians to be regarded as a mere *lusus naturae*. The Egyptians themselves, moreover, looked upon themselves as a peculiar race of men, represented themselves painted red to distinguish them from all other nations. According to Champollion, the Egyptians believed that there existed four races of men.

There are no monuments referring to the earliest times, but in the eighteenth dynasty they are more numerous than in any other, and the representations on them perfectly correspond with the traditions about Sesostris, etc. The desire to read the hieroglyphics is very old; it was awakened even at the time of the revival of letters, and attempts to do so were made as early as the sixteenth century. Information was sought in an ancient book, which was known under the name of Horus (Orus), or Horapollo; but earnest modern enquirers have shown that, with a few exceptions,

that work furnishes no means to explain the hieroglyphics. My father, Carsten Niebuhr, was in reality the first who made accurate and careful drawings of the hieroglyphics, both during his stay in Egypt, and afterwards at Constantinople. But I will allow an exception in favour of father Athanasius Kircher, who took honest pains about the hieroglyphics on Roman monuments, and who, although he failed in his attempt, yet deserves to be mentioned with distinction. Ficoroni too had given faithful representations of the Roman hieroglyphics; but those in the East and in Egypt had been copied very carelessly; Norden and Pococke had omitted the small signs and copied only the principal figures, and even these in a manner altogether arbitrary. But my father spared no trouble; all the hieroglyphics he fell in with on sarcophagi and elsewhere, he copied most carefully, without the hope of ever seeing the results of his industry.[6] The way for further enquiries was paved by the discovery of the Rosetta stone. According to a decree of the college of priests in Lower Egypt, it was set up in honour of Ptolemy V. surnamed Epiphanes, and bears a threefold inscription: on the one side it is in Greek, and is almost completely preserved, and on the other in Egyptian in both the hieratic and hieroglyphic characters. The stone was discovered by the French at Rosetta during the Egyptian expedition, and was afterwards brought to England by Lord Donoughmore. Other inscriptions, with Greek and hieroglyphic writing, have subsequently been found at Philae. These bilingual inscriptions soon led men of keen observation to ingenious combinations. In the hieratic writing, groups were perceived, in which, the same signs recurring, again and again, were found to be the signs for the name of Alexander and for other names; but no progress was made, because the right method was not pursued. It was observed in the hieroglyphics, as had before been seen on the obelisks, that certain passages were enclosed in ellipses containing groups of from six to eight hieroglyphic characters. Dr. Young, an Englishman, first hit upon the idea, that those ellipses

[6] "He was the first who perceived that the number of hieroglyphics is very limited, and that there could not possibly be a separate sign for every word. He made this view known, but the matter was neglected."

which are now termed royal cartouches, must contain names. He argued quite correctly, that if there existed an hieroglyphic system of figures, it could not have been applied to proper names, and that the latter must have been written in a peculiar way. Now in comparing those cartouches with the Greek inscription, he convinced himself that they must contain names, as Ptolemy, Berenice, etc., and when those names occurred a second or third time, he was able to recognise them. When in this manner he had found out the names, he came to the discovery that the hieroglyphic characters enclosed in the cartouches indicated separate letters. This was a most lucky thought, which unquestionably belongs to Dr. Young, and it would be very unfair to deny him this merit, although it cannot be asserted that the brothers Champollion, who had previously been engaged in the study of the Coptic language and Egyptian history, had not entertained that thought themselves, but that they derived it from Dr. Young. If the latter were the case, they would be wrong in not acknowledging it distinctly; for even then they, and especially the younger Champollion, would still have the great merit of having carried their investigations to the most splendid development. It is, on the other hand, not impossible, that the same thought may have occurred to both parties simultaneously. Time brings forth much; and it may happen, that a man conceives the same thought which another has conceived at almost the same time. This happens almost always at those times in which a science receives a new impulse, and most disagreeable misunderstandings and animosities are generally the consequence. It is well known that Newton and Leibnitz made a gigantic discovery at the same time, and although both were convinced that neither had robbed the other, but that each had made his discovery independently, yet both were suspicious of each other. The same may possibly have been the case with Dr. Young and Champollion; but while the former stopped short at his discovery, Champollion made a most successful application of it, whereby it has become very fruitful, and has led to the most important results.

LECTURE VI.

THE origin of hieroglyphics must be looked for in the natural desire to paint such objects as are capable of being represented; the next step was the transition from real representations to symbolical, emblematical, or allegorical signs. This becomes quite evident, if we compare the Egyptian hieroglyphics with the Mexican mode of writing. In the latter, the object to be represented is painted with great minuteness, and its conventional signs for objects, and their relations to one another, are but few; but this Mexican method of writing is mere painting, and a means to show at once the objects which were before the writer's mind, but it expresses his idea or thought only in an indistinct manner; it cannot be read, in the proper sense of the word, but indicates the substance of what is to be communicated only symbolically. Such is the nature of their calendars, charts, family registers, and everything else which has not been destroyed by the barbarous proceedings of the Inquisition. But many things, of which accounts have yet come down to us, such as the hymns of the Kaziks of Tezcuco, cannot have been written in this manner, and there must accordingly have existed another mode of writing, to describe things which do not lie within the range of the outward senses. Thus we have some fragments of Mexican manuscripts, in which we manifestly perceive something quite different, which must evidently be signs for words answering to that which the Greeks in Egypt termed the hieratic mode of writing. Such a fragment exists at Dresden, of which Alexander von Humboldt has caused a fac-simile to be engraved.[1] The hieroglyphic writing in Egypt beginning in the same manner, had only a very limited range of subjects; and the Egyptian language was well adapted to such a mode of writing. "It has no synonymes, and" the words have no inflexions at all, so that

[1] "Sometimes we find, by the side of the Mexican writing, an explanation in Spanish, which is as old as the Mexican. There are still persons in Mexico who are able to understand such a picture-book, and to read such writing."

their relations to one another could be indicated only by particles. If they had invented a separate sign for every word, the whole Egyptian language might have been written in the same manner in which it can be done in the highly-cultivated language of the Chinese, which has been developed to such a degree that it contains not only as many signs as there are words, but that it has even separate signs for the finer shades of meaning for which no word exists, whence their written language is more perfect and more developed than the spoken language. Such hieroglyphics may have been used in Egypt from time immemorial; but, subsequently, necessity led them to invent other signs. The words were divided and decomposed; people learned to divide their words into syllables and spell them, and hieroglyphic signs were devised for the separate parts of a word. I can understand the matter, although I do not understand a word of the ancient Egyptian or Coptic language. When, for example, they wanted to write the name Ramesses, there existed a word *Ra*, and this they expressed by its hieroglyphic character, which formed the first syllable, just as is done in China ; but it might so happen that there was no such word as *messes*, in this case they took the hieroglyphic of a word beginning with *m*, and added it to *Ra*. In like manner they then added the hieroglyphic of a word beginning with *e*, and so on. A circle or ellipse was then drawn around the whole, to indicate that each of the hieroglyphics enclosed in it must be referred only to its sound, or to the initial of the word indicated by them. This method was probably first applied to proper names, but gradually they learned to write everything, even ordinary words, and this method was developed more and more. When the hieroglyphics were not sufficient, the words were decomposed, and written as I have here described. But by the side of this there arose a second mode of writing. The more people had to write, the more inconvenient it became to write in real hieroglyphics, and the labour was shortened by making certain conventional strokes instead of the picture or figure, as for example an *I* instead of *Ibis*. Thus they gradually came to a current handwriting, which was based upon the hieroglyphics, and in which the original hieroglyphics, whether they denoted letters or syllables,

corresponded to as many current signs. This mode of writing is called the hieratic. A third mode is called the demotic, respecting which the learned do not yet appear quite agreed; and it seems doubtful as to whether it was the hieratic still more cursorily written, or whether it was a peculiar and more extended system of writing syllables and letters. But this, too, will soon be perfectly clear, however much people may oppose these new explanations and discoveries, either from that hostility against everything great or newly discovered, which never fails to show itself, or from honest scepticism. Men of the most trustworthy character, such as Abbé Peyron, at Turin, one of the most respectable scholars, an excellent critic, and a good though not a perfect philologer, are quite capable of proving the correctness of Champollion's views. Peyron has written to me, that after long investigations in examining a collection of demotic manuscripts at Turin, in which the demotic writing is accompanied by a Greek translation, he has become perfectly convinced of their correctness, and he can neither be deceived himself nor deceive others, because he has applied himself to the Egyptian and Coptic languages, and has studied the latter so thoroughly, that the dictionary which he is preparing will throw all his predecessors into the shade. The passage in Clemens of Alexandria, on the Egyptian mode of writing,[2] also most clearly agrees with the view of Champollion.

The subject is difficult only on account of our scanty knowledge of the Egyptian language, since, except a translation of the Bible, some homilies, legends and the like, which belong to the period of the dominion of the Arabs, we have no documents, and the language of that period is no doubt very degenerate compared with that spoken in the time of the 18th dynasty. For as the Egyptians, ever since the time of the Persians, lived under the dominion of foreign nations, and had even before been mixed with strangers through commerce, their language must have undergone very great changes under their various rulers. The language must have been changed more, and indeed far more, than the Arabic; because, according to all

[2] *Stromat.* v. p. 237; vi. p. 268.

appearances, the Egyptians never had a literature of their own, and consequently had no means whatever of preserving their language. There is no trace of a literature, for their theological, theosophical, and theurgic books, which were in the exclusive possession of the priests, cannot be regarded as a literature.

The application of what are called the phonetic hieroglyphics, and which ought rather to be called alphabetic, led to the use of a number of alphabets. If, for example, I wished to write the name *Adam*, I should seek for a word beginning with *a*, in order to put its hieroglyphic first, and in the same manner I should proceed with the following letters. But as there were many hieroglyphics—on the whole about 900—there might be twenty, thirty, or even more hieroglyphics for words beginning with *a*, and I might use any one of them to express the letter *a*. Thus a person might use twenty or thirty different signs for one and the same letter. Although, therefore, the individual letter was certain, yet there was on the whole the greatest uncertainty; and while we have one alphabet, the Egyptians had twenty or thirty, from which letters might be chosen at pleasure. The next step which ought to have been taken, would have been to select one out of the many possible alphabets, and to adopt it for general use; but whether the Egyptians took this step, we will not attempt to decide. In regard to the hieroglyphics, they probably never did take it; and even in the demotic method they do not seem to have done it, as they stopped short in the process of dividing words into syllables.

This step in advance was made by the Phoenicians. In their system of writing, which was adopted by the Samaritans and Hebrews, there was only one sign for every letter. Hence, both the Phoenician and the Hebrew contain much that is hieroglyphic. It is well known, that the names of the letters have a distinct meaning, for example, Beth signifies "a house;" Gimel, "a camel," etc. This points to the fact that originally the Phoenicians must likewise have had hieroglyphics, and from Champollion's discoveries it is perfectly clear to me, that they chose particular hieroglyphics as signs for the separate sounds. While the Egyptians might select any hieroglyphic beginning

with *a* to represent the letter *a*, the Phoenicians fixed upon one definite hieroglyphic for every particular letter, and accordingly established the hieroglyphics of house, camel, etc., for *b*, *g*, etc. This is the invention of the alphabet. When, therefore, we find it a disputed point among the ancients, as to whether the Egyptians or Phoenicians were the inventors of the art of writing, the question may be answered thus: The Egyptians probably possessed writing first, and according to their model and example, the Phoenicians may have formed hieroglyphics for themselves; but they made the grand discovery, which constitutes the ground-work of the art of writing properly so called, that is, of the art which has a fixed sign for every letter. Seldom has a nation earned so lasting and certain a reward for merit as the Phoenicians, for rarely has a great invention been so widely spread and extended, as the invention of letters. The alphabets of all the western nations are derived from that of the Phoenicians; from it were formed the Greek and Latin, and the Gothic characters have their origin in the ancient Phoenician, though the changes are considerable. It would, however, be erroneous to imagine that all the alphabets in the world are derived from the Phoenician, for in the East there exist very different systems of writing; the writing of the Persians and Assyrians, and the cuneiform writing in Persepolitan inscriptions arose independantly of the Phoenician and Egyptian systems; in like manner the very ancient Ethiopic characters are independent; nay, the Ethiopic method of writing is so perfect that it far surpasses the Egyptian.[3]

The stagnation of the Egyptians after the time of their greatness under Sesostris, is altogether very remarkable. From that time they did not advance one step further; they became

[3] "In the West too we find a kind of writing which seems to have claims to originality—though I will not absolutely assert it—I mean that of the Celtiberians. As regards Runic writing, it is evidently and decidedly derived from the Greek and Latin. But the question as to its antiquity is one which I must leave others to answer, and which seems to be enveloped in impenetrable darkness. The scantiness and the limited number of Runic signs seem to suggest a very early adoption of the Greek characters. But there is nothing original in them, and it is only a conceited and injurious patriotism that can see any originality in them."

perfectly fixed, and in the midst of the monuments of the ancient greatness of their ancestors, and though possessed of hereditary arts, they were quite a degenerate people, incapable of advancing a single step in developing and perfecting that which they had received from their forefathers. They are a warning example to those who have the foolish fancy of regarding the Oriental division into castes as something excellent, for castes after all can effect nothing else than the continuation of a dead and mechanical knowledge; and what is the use of this? They preserve in a lifeless condition that which was once full of vitality, without allowing anything new to come into life. Only that which has life and energy in it can have any value. What good can the appearance or the empty name of a thing do, which has existed for thousands of years in the same form? Of such stagnation the Egyptians are even a more striking example than the Indians; for it was only through their system of castes that the Egyptians became so helpless and so little inventive, that in the end, when forced to abandon their ancient system, they were obliged to go begging in foreign countries, and to adopt the Greek alphabet, which they had to complete with six of their own characters.

The Egyptian division into castes is very ancient, and certainly shows that the country was conquered by foreigners. Wherever there are castes, they are the consequence of foreign conquest and subjugation; and it is impossible for a nation to submit to such a system, unless it be compelled by the calamities of a conquest. It is only through conquest, that, contrary to the will of the people, those circumstances are formed which afterwards assume the character of a division into castes. Thus I have read in a book of travels to Bokhara, that four different nations there live together: the Tadjiks, or the Persian tribe, comprising the merchants and tradespeople; the Usbekes, the Caracalpakes, and a fourth tribe. Each of these different nations has its peculiar calling: they are warriors, husbandmen, merchants, etc., and each is separated from the other. A Bokharian can change his occupation only with the consent of the prince, and this happens but very rarely. If there appeared among them a legislator, he might very easily constitute them as castes. In

India the distribution of castes is by no means the same everywhere. I once addressed myself to a very distinguished man at Calcutta to ask him, whether in India the castes were equally distributed in all parts of the country; and he answered me that this was by no means the case; that in many parts one caste did not exist at all, and that its occupations were carried on by another; he said, for example, that the Brahmins were very numerous in some provinces, as in Bengal, and that in others they were very few; and that in most cases they were natives of particular places. Thus in some places nearly all the inhabitants belong to the second caste, while in Bengal this caste scarcely exists at all. The example of India, therefore, also shows that the castes are the result of conquests, and that they represent different nationalities. The more ancient tribes were subdued, and hence the country people, the Sudras, are naturally far darker than the Brahmins, who, wherever they have remained unmixed, are in reality white. Accordingly, there can be no question, that in Egypt also the castes arose out of the conquest of different tribes, and out of their subsequent amalgamation into one mass. It is singular that the caste of warriors consisted of two tribes, and this renders it very probable that at different times through the change of dynasties a double tribe of rulers arose, and that they came to an understanding with each other; this would, at least, account for the appearance of two tribes in one caste. In like manner a double ruling nation arose in Italy in the time of Charlemagne, when the Lombards were subdued by the Franks; the Lombards were rulers in their relation to the Italians, and the Franks in their relation to the Lombards. Hence also a double nobility, the ancient Lombard nobility, and the new Frankish nobility. I conceive the two tribes in the military caste, the Calasirians and Hermotybians, to have had a similar origin.

The particulars respecting the castes may be read in Herodotus. "Those which he mentions, however, are not to be regarded as the original ones, for the caste of interpreters did not arise until the settlement of Greeks in Egypt. The συβῶται (swineherds) must not be considered as a caste at all, seeing that they were as much despised as among the Jews, but they were out of all connexion

with the castes, they were the outcasts or Pariahs, a necessary appendage of every division into castes. The first two must have been the conquerors, and the last two the conquered.

"All the knowledge of the Egyptians was evidently in the hands of the priests; just as at Babylon the observation of the stars, which led to astrology, was confined to the priests. Astrology, however, was never practised by the Egyptians; and their astronomy is very problematical, it being unknown how far it was developed, and to what period it belongs. The cultivation of geometry, on the other hand, is ascribed to them, and the Greeks are said to have derived it from them, but this question too is very obscure. The Greeks obtained the results, but they themselves found out the scientific reasoning on which they were based."

LECTURE VII.

It would occupy too much time to speak of the manners, customs, and institutions of the Egyptians; I cannot do better than refer you to the second book of Herodotus. Whoever is engaged in philological studies, must make Herodotus his daily companion; he must never cease reading him. The Egyptian monuments furnish us with a knowledge of the whole condition of Egypt, which is more accurate than any we possess in regard to either of the classical nations, "and the antiquities of no country are so well preserved as those of Egypt. They are for the most part so carefully represented, that only awkwardness and want of skill can destroy them; the atmosphere of Egypt does not exercise any destructive influence upon the paintings, and the papyrus is nearly as indestructible as the pyramids." All human occupations, agriculture, commerce, navigation, and in short all the manifestations of human life, are represented on the remains of Egyptian antiquity, especially in mural paintings, resembling the painted tapestries in China. Much has already been gained from this source towards a knowledge of Egypt, and in the course

of time the whole mode of life of the Egyptians will become clear. These representations, it is true, belong for the most part to the period of the eighteenth dynasty, that of Sesostris; but from them we see how the same variety and development in civil affairs then prevailed as they did afterwards, and that even at that period, Egypt had in everything reached its highest point of perfection. Many arts are seen to have been then practised in Egypt, which have been considered as later Oriental inventions; but it is more especially the chemical processes of art, "that is, the art of fusing metals, the preparation of glass, medicines, and the like," that appear to have made great progress. Chemistry, in fact, has derived its name from the country of Chemi or Egypt. The art of distilling is unmistakably represented in paintings belonging to the earliest period of Egypt, "and there can be no doubt that the Greeks learned from the Egyptians the art of extracting metals from the ore. Agriculture, and the manufacture of cotton, had also made very great progress." In the representation of wars, we find very remarkable engines for besieging towns, and such arms as are generally said to have been invented in later times, and do not reappear till a much later period in the art of Greek and Italian warfare, either because their principle had been forgotten, or because it had not been brought into practical application. In future, when the hieroglyphics shall be explained, all this will be of the highest importance, and it will be possible to give a complete picture of the whole life of the Egyptians. If they had had a literature, we should not be able to learn from it much more than we shall know, when their monuments shall have been fully explained. All their works are executed with great mechanical skill and perfection; thus their architecture in its highest style is not only colossal, but its detail is uncommonly beautiful, and the workmanship exceedingly neat; and however awkward the human figures are in their sculptures and statues, their faces are treated with great artistic taste and skill. The head of Memnon, which is at present in London, is said to be a masterpiece of technical skill, "and notwithstanding the difficulty of the material of which it consists, to be wrought with the greatest delicacy. The Egyptians, like very many other oppressed people, were very far ad-

vanced in the arts, while their intellectual culture remained behind-hand. They were extremely industrious, but all the forms under which they lived, were oppressive, and for this reason they could have no living author."

The religion of the Egyptians is still very mysterious to me; I suspect that it was not the same at all times or in all places, but that there were essential differences. The worship of Isis and Osiris appears neither to have been the most ancient, nor generally prevalent, but to have had its seat in Lower Egypt. In Upper Egypt the worship of Ammon prevailed, while that of Phtha (Hephaestus) alone extended over the whole country. It must, however, be observed that their religion was of foreign origin. "It degenerated into a monstrous and repulsive system of symbols, in which nothing pleasing will ever be discovered. The partiality for the monstrous, in the character of the Egyptians, compared with the grandeur of the Holy Scriptures, is very strikingly exhibited in the history of the defeat of Sanherib."

We have already mentioned the conquest of Egypt by the mysterious Hycsos. They were conquered by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty who attacked them from Upper Egypt. Now what connexion there may have existed between this dynasty and the ancient civilized Ethiopians, is a subject on which the greatest historical inquirers have been unable to come to any certain conclusions. The ancient tradition is that the Ethiopians of Meroë were Egyptians, and that the priests of the two countries were connected with one another. These accounts, which occur especially in Diodorus, must not be overlooked; they are in every respect deserving of very great attention. They do not at all agree with that history of Egypt which Diodorus relates. It is however quite certain, that the state of Meroë is not fabulous, as has been imagined so long; even as late as the time of the Ptolemies, Meroë was a wealthy city and a great state. "It was then still the seat of a nation which used hieroglyphics, and which was regarded by the Egyptian priests as their instructors and as the tribe from which they were descended. This state of things was afterwards strangely interrupted, when Greek culture spread in that country.[1] The

[1] See *Klein. Schrift.* i. p. 410, ii. p. 179.

Ethiopians themselves deserve to be specially noticed, but the explanation of their nationality presents many difficulties. Those whom we might consider as the Cushites ("thus they are called in the Old Testament") would be the Abyssinians of Tigre and Axum,[2] whose language is on the one hand quite akin to the Arabic, but on the other hand has words which are thoroughly foreign to all the Aramaic dialects. This Ethiopian language, which at present is spoken only at Tigre, seems formerly to have extended to Atbara and the ancient Meroë, the site of which is now with great probability sought in the district of Sennaar. But here it has perished partly through Arab and partly through Nubian conquests, and has become amalgamated with the language of the conquerors. In their external appearance, the Ethiopians, such as we see them in the Abyssinians of Tigre, present a striking difference from the Arabs. Whether this has arisen from the fact that a dark race became mixed with a Semitic one, is a question on which we can only form conjectures; its investigation lies beyond all monuments. It is very remarkable, that according to the views of Moses as well as according to the accounts of the Arabs, the latter themselves consist of two tribes, and that the one, that of Yactan, is connected with the Cushites (?); the other Arabic tribe is that of Ismael. Now whether the Cushites were the same as the Arabs of the tribe of Yactan, or whether they were mixed with them, this much is certain that at one time they were a highly civilized nation, and that the Egyptians under the eighteenth dynasty shared this civilization with them.

That was the golden age of Egypt. There is no monument which can be said, with certainty, to be older than the eighteenth dynasty; but the period of that dynasty produced more gigantic monuments than any other nation either of ancient or modern times; and the representations of its victories and conquests are not only in keeping with that greatness, but perfectly

[2] "This tribe forms the smallest part of the nation now called Abyssinians, or more correctly Habesh. The name Habesh (Σύγκλυδες) is very appropriate for this people, as it consists of an amalgamation of the most different tribes, for the most part of blacks of different shades down to the Negroes."

agree with the traditions about Sesostris, who belonged to that dynasty. Its date may be about 1000 years before Herodotus, who says nothing about it, except that Moeris lived not quite 900 years before his time. As he paid great attention to such dates, we may consider this statement as tolerably trustworthy.[3] The numbers which are taken from Manetho by Josephus, Africanus, Syncellus, and by Eusebius (in his Chronicle) may so easily be mis-written, and the differences and contradictions among them are so enormous, that the idea of a synchronism, *e. g.*, with the history of Babylonia and Assyria, cannot be conceived even approximately. But that age of prosperity and culture, in which Egypt already possessed all the knowledge, arts, and manufactures, by which it was ever distinguished, and at the same time acquired immense power, is very ancient. Never has Egypt surpassed that age in power and intellectual culture. It is quite illogical to doubt the accounts about the conquests of Sesostris; they are thoroughly historical. Many things, it is true, as the story in Herodotus about his companions, who are said to have been born on one day, are fabulous; but his expeditions were attested by the monuments in Libya, Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, throughout Asia Minor, and even in

[3] In order to understand this passage, we must remember, that Champollion regards Moeris as the fifth king of the eighteenth dynasty. In 1826, Niebuhr said, that Sesostris must have lived about 800 years before Herodotus; so that the period of the Hycsos-Moeris = 100 years, and Moeris-Sesostris = 100 years. Niebuhr's expression respecting the connexion of the Arab dynasty at Babylon (p. 20, foll.), is explained by the above supposition, as he conceived the following synchronism, supposing Herodotus to have been in Egypt about B. C. 450:—

Babylon.	Egypt.
1961 (Reign of the Chaldaeans).	Conquest by the Hycsos.
1519 Arab Dynasty.	(Reign of the Hycsos).
1450 (Reign of the Arabs).	Expulsion of the Hycsos, eighteenth dynasty.
1274 Expulsion of the Arabs.	(Reign of the eighteenth dynasty).

It must, however, be observed, that in 1826, Niebuhr considered Ramesses the Great as belonging to the nineteenth dynasty; probably, according to Champollion's earlier supposition, that Ramesses Miamun was the first king of the nineteenth dynasty.—Ed.

Thrace; and although Herodotus could not read the hieroglyphics, we have no reason to doubt, that he was able to recognise on these monuments the royal cartouches with the name of Ramesses the Great, or Sesostris, which he had seen in Egypt. On the monuments of that period, the Egyptian kings always appear as conquerors in triumphal processions, receiving the tribute of conquered nations, and the like. "Jomard was the first to direct attention to this, and to discover the numbers on these monuments, which evidently describe the tribute of the conquered nations." The priests at Thebes also explained to Germanicus certain tables, on which were recorded the names of a number of nations subdued by Sesostris, and the amount of their tribute. "For the priests at that time were still able to read the hieroglyphics very fluently, and even in the second century of the Christian era, hieroglyphics were frequently written." I am also convinced, that the statement of Herodotus, that the Colchians were an Egyptian colony—a statement which has so often been laughed at—ought by no means to be treated with ridicule, but that it is a proof of Herodotus' very happy Hellenic power of observation. He says, that the Colchians were dark, had Egyptian features, and that they alone in those districts observed the custom of circumcision. In opposition to this, it has been urged, that not a trace of Egyptian features is to be found in the beautiful race of the Caucasians, who are the descendants of the Colchians; and even Strabo knew nothing of it, and found no trace of an Egyptian colony. But all this only proves, that, in the 500 years between Herodotus and Strabo, the remnants of that Egyptian colony disappeared among the Colchians, either in consequence of their having lost their national peculiarities by mingling with the ruling people, or because the current of the Tartar tribes which fell upon them first, gradually extirpated them. But after all, the ancient Egyptians, and even the darkest tribe among them, were not a race of Negroes, but a Cushite tribe. The Ethiopian Abyssinians are indeed dark, but not black. I was acquainted at Rome with a Catholic priest of Tigre, who lived at Rome for a long time; his hair was not woolly, but only curly, and much longer than that of the Negroes. Moreover the Abyssinians

have become so much mixed, that at present they must be much darker than formerly. It is one of the great advantages of our time, that we can with certainty say that this or that is quite credible, which was formerly rejected with foolish assurance. I readily believe that the Egyptian conquests extended as far as Colchis, and that Sesostris left behind there a colony for the purpose of keeping the country in subjection; nay, I believe that he carried his expeditions even into Thrace. Where that colony was, I cannot indeed say, any more than I can determine the period in Assyrian history with which the conquests of Sesostris coincide. This is a question which at present no one can venture to answer, but which will perhaps be answered soon, for many things may yet be brought to light from the Egyptian monuments. Much information may yet be expected, for the papyrus is imperishable, especially in Upper Egypt, where there is so little moisture; and rolls with lists of kings may still be found there. Near Philae, fragments of a manuscript of the Iliad have been discovered, and a great many papyrus rolls, with demotic and Greek writings, belonging to the period of the Ptolemies, have been preserved; they were for the most part found in earthen vessels, in which they were kept. At Turin there are extracts of contracts, fragments of legal proceedings, which perhaps are not quite original, but copies; they are, however, as old as the eighteenth dynasty. This shows what may yet be expected; and why should it be impossible to discover accounts about the time of Sesostris? It is only since the time of the French expedition to Egypt, that people began to bestow more attention upon the papyrus rolls; previous to that time, those which were found were taken no notice of, and it is certain that at the commencement of that expedition many were destroyed, while previously thousands of them may have been burned and wasted. Now, care is taken in collecting them, and hundreds may be gathered in a short time, but the number of historical documents is uncommonly small; and most of the papyrus rolls found on mummies contain nothing but rituals. There is no doubt but that Egypt must become the possession of a civilized European power; it must sooner or later become the connecting link between England and the East Indies. European dominion

naturally supports science and literature, together with the rights of humanity, and to prevent the destruction of a barbarous power would be an act of high treason against intellectual culture and humanity. When that shall have been accomplished, new treasures will be brought to light, and Egyptian antiquity will be laid open before our eyes: we stand at the very threshold of a new era in the history of antiquity. In Nineveh, Babylonia, and Persia, centuries long past will come to light again, and the ancient times will present themselves clearly and distinctly in all their detail. It is true that all those nations are deficient in individuality and in that which constitutes the idea of humanity, and which we find among the Greeks, Romans, and moderns; but their conditions and changes will become clear. In all its details, the ancient world will acquire a fresh reality, and fifty years hence essays will appear on the history of those nations, compared with which our present knowledge is like the chemistry, such as it was a hundred years before the time of Berzelius.[4] Accordingly, I have the firm conviction that Sesos-

[4] "I have made the remark, that we have no traces of the Egyptians having ever had a history of their own. They had indeed a chronology, but true history they had not; and this observation is confirmed by what has been found in the newly explained inscriptions since the discovery of the art of deciphering the hieroglyphics. We might have expected to find in the inscriptions on the obelisks records of the exploits of the kings; but we nowhere meet with historical accounts. There are indeed historical representations, but they are not accompanied by historical inscriptions, and in most cases the representations have nothing at all to do with history. If we could discover the representations which the Egyptian priests showed to Germanicus, they would no doubt be different. This shows the genuineness of a hieroglyphic inscription in Ammianus Marcellinus, which was formerly disbelieved, because it was incoherent, and instead of mentioning the exploits of the renowned heroes, contained only phraseologies and doxologies. The inscription of Rosetta is composed quite in the same spirit; in it the Egyptian priests only praise the king for his piety, for the presents and privileges which he had bestowed upon them, but no allusion is made to the events of his reign. Berosus is quite different. In him we find slight traces of a true Babylonian history, as in Menander of that of Tyre; and although the most complete history was, like all eastern histories, confined to the personal history of a Sultan, yet their history is proceeding in the right track. I am convinced that there existed a complete history, just as there was a complete history of Phoenicia, and of the

tris actually ruled over Asia, the interior of Ethiopia, probably also over Libya, and penetrated into Thrace in Europe, although we must own that we know nothing of the particular campaigns.

The duration of the reign of the eighteenth dynasty is calculated by Africanus and Eusebius, after Manetho, at three centuries and a half; but I attach no value to this statement. Africanus himself was not unbiassed; for his object was to bring the ancient numbers into harmony with the current chronology, and with his own hypotheses and chronological systems; and Eusebius is evidently a detestable falsifier, a charge from which perhaps Africanus also is not free.

Sesostris is the most brilliant point in that dynasty, both generally and particularly as regards the monuments. The monuments of Thebes, as well as the gigantic colossi and rocky temples of Ipsambul in Nubia, between the first and second cataracts of the Nile, are his works. Under him Ipsambul was a central point of the empire as well as Thebes itself. The importance of the country of Nubia must not be overlooked. Artists of perfectly sound judgment maintain, that nothing of a later age can bear a comparison with the perfection of the Egyptian art at that early period; and that every thing which was produced subsequently, bears traces of decline, and, in the end, of complete decay. The buildings of the great early period, they say, are distinct from the later monuments; as, for example, a temple of Selinus and Agrigentum differs from one built in the Macedonian period. The buildings of the great period are succeeded by monuments, which are indeed somewhat less grand, but are still genuine Egyptian; whereas all the structures of the time of the Ptolemies show the complete decay: at last, in the time of the Roman emperors, they become quite barbarous, and are manifestly built by men who were acquainted with the arts only traditionally. Formerly indeed persons were so far mistaken as to regard even works of the last-mentioned period—for example,

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kings of Judah, of which the present Books of Kings are only extracts, a fact which has been acknowledged by all critical theologians both Catholic and Protestant. History accordingly extends as far as the Aramaean race, whereas in the race of Cham, we do not find it."—(Transposed from Lect. X.)

two vaults, one a work of Tiberius and the other of Severus, but especially the building containing the celebrated zodiac—as structures raised by the Pharaohs, and as belonging to the remotest antiquity; but a discerning eye easily discovers the truth. The circumference of Thebes is actually of the extent described by the ancients. A portion of the buildings and monuments has been destroyed and has disappeared, notwithstanding their enormous magnitude; many a court is now occupied by a whole Arab village: even a German village would have ample space; just as at present the little town of Palestrina, in the neighbourhood of Rome, is situated on the area of a temple of Fortuna, and a town of the size of Bonn might stand within the inner circumference of the temple of Thebes. The circumference of Thebes was about 45 English miles, but whether the whole space was occupied with houses, is uncertain.

As to the manner in which the eighteenth dynasty perished, we have no information in the remains of Manetho; but we are suddenly transferred into Lower Egypt, to Memphis, Tanis and Pelusium; and henceforth the dynasties, with few exceptions, remain in that part of Egypt. Herodotus, indeed, considers Memphis to be the first and most ancient part of the kingdom, and he was told by the priests that this city was built in the most remote period; but we must not forget, that in the time of Herodotus, Thebes was already deserted, and that Memphis had long since become the capital of the empire, and especially the centre of religion and of all Egyptian institutions. My conviction however is, that Memphis arose at a much later time than Thebes. Changes had taken place in Egypt, of which we can say nothing certain; and in consequence of which the centre of Egyptian life was transferred to Lower Egypt. Memphis, no doubt, then sprang up very rapidly, according to the usual manner of Eastern capitals, and acquired its greatness through the ruin of Thebes. All statements respecting the very early foundation of Memphis must be rejected, because Lower Egypt, at the time when Thebes was the capital, can hardly have been a populous country; it must have been for the most part a marshy district. It must be remarked in general, that Lower Egypt was a country gained by skilful contrivances. Lake Moeris was evi-

dently made for the following purpose:—Lower Egypt had not yet become sufficiently elevated by the inundations: when the river came down with its mass of waters, it easily overflowed the country too much, and in order to protect it against such a deluge, the Egyptians undertook the gigantic work of forming on one side of the river in a valley, an immense reservoir. This great design was executed by task work; the earth which was dug out, was no doubt employed in raising the rest of Egypt. They were wise enough not to construct dikes, as it was necessary for the country to be overflowed; but hills were raised like those which are called in Friesland *Wurthen*, and on which houses, villages and towns were built. The advantage of the lake was that when the waters came down with great violence, the current, by opening the sluices, could be conducted into it. Thus the too great inundations of Lower Egypt were prevented. We do not know the site of lake Moeris; but I for my part do not comprehend how people can search after it, if they bear in mind the purpose it served. As the Nile, each time when the waters subsided, left behind a deposit, the lake must in the end have been filled up with it, and thus it is quite natural that we can no longer find it. It had been made of a certain size to answer a definite purpose. When the water of the Nile was let into it, it did not evaporate altogether, but made its deposit on the bottom of the lake, which thus rose every year, so that in the course of a long time the lake vanished either altogether or at least the greatest part of it. We may consider it as an undoubted fact, that Lower Egypt did not become a prosperous and flourishing country until the time when the kings transferred their residence from Thebes to Memphis, which for purposes of fortification was surrounded with moats. But how long the dynasties of Memphis ruled, and the succession of their kings, are points which as yet we do not know; it remains for future times and discoveries to settle these questions.

The second Egyptian style of architecture, then, commences with the dynasties of Memphis; and to them belong those structures which have attracted the greatest attention. The most ancient style at Ipsambul and Thebes is truly gigantic; rows of mighty pillars, temples, colossal figures and whole armies of

sphinxes and obelisks, are made of the hardest stones, granite and porphyry. The dynasty of Memphis, which was far away from granite rocks, and had only quarries of limestone, accommodated itself to the locality and its resources, building its pyramids of sand-stone and limestone. It is uncertain whether there is any obelisk belonging to this dynasty; the great and splendid obelisks belong to the eighteenth dynasty, just as the pyramids belong exclusively to the dynasty of Memphis.[5] Pyramids are indeed found at Meroë and Atbara, but they certainly are not ancient; and are so small, that we can regard them only as imitations of those of Memphis, which were not built till many centuries after Sesostris, though they may perhaps belong to the period of the later Meroitic dynasties of Sabaco and Tirhaka.

The kings, Cheops, Chefren, Mycerinus and others, who, according to Herodotus, constructed those pyramids with their wonders, their immense size, and the ingenious arrangement of the interior, cannot be identified with any of the various names of kings in Manetho. All the pyramids were covered with a coating, and the coating was covered with inscriptions; but all this has long since been broken off; as so many Roman buildings and aqueducts have been stripped of the crusts of marble and bricks, and now stand there as mere skeletons, showing only their inner kernel, so is it also with the pyramids. But who would have imagined in former times that the period to which the structure of the pyramids belongs, was already a period of decay of Egyptian art? And yet such is the case.

We may assert in general, that the greatness of Egypt belongs to an earlier period. "How long it lasted, we know not." It would seem that under the dynasties of Memphis the Egyptian empire was confined within the boundaries of Lower Egypt, and that with few exceptions it extended neither into Upper Egypt nor into Asia. "Ethiopia, which had before been a province of Egypt, again became an independent state. In Syria the Egyptians ruled no longer, for Shishak's plundering of Jerusalem was

[5] In 1826, Niebuhr was doubtful as to the time in which the pyramids were built.—Ed.

only a predatory inroad." How low Egypt had fallen may be clearly seen from the fact, that such small kingdoms as Judah and Israel could maintain themselves by its side; for the time of the greatest prosperity of Judah under David and Solomon belongs to that period; and it was about the same time that Hiram of Tyre was powerful. The conquests were probably lost during the revolution which brought about the overthrow of the empire of Thebes.

LECTURE VIII.

During the latter period of the empire of Memphis, there arose that of Ethiopia, and the Ethiopian conquerors, as Sabaco and Tirhaka, took possession of Upper Egypt and ruled over the greater part of the empire. "This happened soon after the commencement of the Nabonassarian era, at the time of the Assyrian kings who conquered Samaria and led away the Ten Tribes." During that period, the expelled kings of Egypt maintained themselves in the inaccessible marshes of the Delta; as the open sea was near at hand, they might easily take refuge there when they were hard pressed. Herodotus describes this figuratively, as if the blind Anysis had concealed himself in the marshes. "He only speaks of an Ethiopian king, Sabaco, who is represented to have quitted Egypt of his own accord; but this and the period of his reign, which Herodotus mentions, need not be taken strictly. According to Africanus, Sabaco was succeeded by a second king, and in the end by Taracos, whose name is well established, for it occurs in Isaiah in the form Tirhaka before the time of Sanherib. He is the last of the Ethiopian dynasty."[1]

Now after the expulsion of Sabaco, there occurred, according to Herodotus, the irregularity, that Sethon, a priest of Phtha,

[1] "In Herodotus, ii. 140, instead of ἑπτακόσια ἔτεα (from Anysis to Amyrtaeus) we must read τριακόσια, as Perizonius has correctly remarked. The signs for these two numbers have very often been confounded."—1826.

took possession of the government, whereas, until then, the kings had always belonged to the military caste. We may, therefore, suppose that the ancient dynasty had become extinct, and that the elevation of the priest Sethon was the work of a popular revolution, in which the military caste was repressed; for if the ruling military caste was of foreign origin, it is possible that the ancient native caste of the priests was supported by the people, whose interests it may have represented. Hence Sethon wanted to take the arms from the soldiers, and give them to the labourers and husbandmen. But during this state of dissolution, the military caste evidently soon began a successful course of reaction: they shook off the yoke of the priests, and recovered the government of the country. But matters had now come to that point that the Egyptian states, which from early times had been quite compact, now broke to pieces, and twelve commanders divided the empire among themselves. "We may easily conceive the whole people to have risen to shake off the yoke; of the old dynasty no member survived, and the commanders in the different provinces set themselves up as princes. But the separation was contrary to the nature of the Egyptian people; the princes allied themselves with one another, and regarded their different tribes as one people."[2] The later Mameluke government of the twenty-four beys, who, previously to the French expedition, ruled as a complex of sovereigns, was of a similar nature. Just such a complex of twelve princes existed in Egypt at the time when the warrior-caste had recovered its ascendancy.[3] And this dodecarchy may have lasted much longer than is stated by Herodotus; the immense labyrinth on Lake Moeris, the building of which is ascribed to it, is a proof of this, or else we must deny that it was erected during the dodecarchy. That labyrinth was a building of prodigious extent: it consisted of twelve palaces, which formed one whole, and was the prytaneum of Egypt; there the twelve met in council for their common deliberations. "The remembrance that all Egypt had been one state necessarily

[2] Herodotus, ii. 147, says—"ἐπιγαμίας ἐποιήσαντο."

[3] "Manetho knows nothing of the priest Sethon, nor of the dodecarchy; but he has three kings whose reigns fill up that period."—1826.

led, in the end, to the attempt of one of the princes to assume the sovereignty over the rest, and thus it came to pass that" Psammetichus excited the jealousy of his colleagues, and that the latter determined to expel him. He fled to the sea coast, and established himself in the inaccessible marshes. There he improved the opportunity of strengthening himself with foreign forces, for a considerable number of Ionian and Carian adventurers had appeared on the coast. With their assistance he attempted the conquest of Egypt, and although their number was comparatively small, he succeeded in reducing the whole country; for all warlike spirit had vanished from the nation. This shows to what a low condition it must have sunk: what would such a hostile force have been in the days of Sesostris? We should be utterly ignorant of the appearance of the Ionians and Carians on the coast of Egypt, if Herodotus, perchance, had not related the history of Psammetichus; but I see in it nothing strange or inexplicable. The fact stated by Berosus, that in the reign of Sanherib, Greeks landed in Cilicia, and that Sanherib marched against them,[4] is quite a similar phenomenon; and I can see no difficulty in supposing that they also went to Egypt. "Our history of Greece of that period presents us with mere shadows; but we know that about that time most of the Greek colonies were sent out, and especially those in Cyprus." The circumstance, that Herodotus here mentions only Ionians cannot be of any weight; for as the Aramaeans, and the Eastern nations in general, called the Greeks Javans, so there can be no doubt that the Egyptians called all those mercenaries simply Ionians, whether they belonged to one or more tribes.

The art of war must at that time have been very low in Egypt, even in regard to defensive armour. In times when the warlike spirit declines, defensive arms are not, as might be imagined, multiplied and improved, but the very reverse is the case—they

[4] "This statement ought not to have been disputed by a man who unfortunately only abuses his great talents and learning. Many may believe that in critical inquiries, it is only necessary to contradict, in order to appear to be wiser than others. I adhere to the statements in those simple chroniclers, who knew quite well that what they called Javans were Greeks." (Comp. *Rhein. Mus.* iii. p. 40, foll.; and above, p. 32, note 4.—Ed.)

become deteriorated; for it is a remarkable fact, that when the minds of men are shaken, their bodies also become feebler. Thus the Romans, in later times, demanded to be delivered from their heavy armour; and in the fourth century, under Gratian, the legions threw their breastplates away. In like manner, the Egyptians at that period seem to have put away their armour, for on the ancient monuments they are represented wearing breastplates; and from the account of Herodotus, it is evident that those foreigners had an advantage over the natives of Egypt by their brazen armour, and that the latter sank down to the condition of mere *Lanzenknechte*, as we may correctly call them by an old German term, without breastplates.

When Psammetichus, with the aid of these foreign mercenaries, had made himself master of the whole country, he, according to tradition, restored the unity of the empire, and ruled as a powerful prince. He removed his capital still farther down than the kings of Memphis had done, and built Sais in the middle of the Delta (in the sense of the ancients)[5] for his capital. Such changes of capitals are by no means uncommon in the East. When a capital is thus transferred, the population of the old city follows the ruler to the new one, and the old capital is deserted. This process may be completed in a few years, and certainly required not more than one generation; the new city by the will of the ruler soon has hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. Thus Delhi was supplanted by Agra, and afterwards the seat of government was again transferred to Delhi. Such was the case in Egypt also. "The decline of Egyptian architecture now becomes obvious. It had been easy to convey stones from the quarries to Memphis, which was situated near the Libyan hills; but Sais was built entirely of bricks, and it was only obelisks, sphinxes, and chapels, that were brought down the river from Upper

[5] "What is now called the Delta is a much more limited district than that to which the ancients applied the name. With the latter, the western border of it was formed by the Canopian branch of the Nile, which empties itself in the Bay of Abukir; the eastern by the branch of Pelusium, or the Tanitian arm of the river. At present the name Delta is applied to the country between the two arms of Rosetta and Damietta, a district which is scarcely one half of the ancient Delta."—1826.

Egypt." At the time when Psammetichus founded Sais, seaships were evidently still able to sail up to the new city with facility and safety, though large ones, probably, could not go higher up.

Psammetichus ruled entirely by means of his foreigners, of whom he formed for himself a *castrum praetorianum*, the military colonies on the Bubastian arm of the Nile, and to whom he gave native women in marriage. Thus arose a half-caste people; they were not a caste of interpreters, although there have been people who have viewed them in this light; but they were called interpreters (ἑρμηνεῖς) simply because they spoke both languages, Egyptian and Greek, just like the Portuguese in India. "They constituted a new tribe of warriors, hated and despised by the priests and genuine Egyptians; but, at the same time, feared by them." Psammetichus disarmed the ancient military caste, and this led to an event, which has long been believed to be altogether fictitious and fabulous; for it is a fact, that Egyptian warriors, who were discontented, marched from their station at Elephantina up the Nile, and settled beyond Meroë about Lakes Fittre and Tchad.[6] Their number certainly did not amount to many myriads, it may not have been many thousands, but certain it is that they emigrated (αὐτόμολοι), entered Ethiopia, and there established a colony. The Ethiopian kingdom either did not exist any longer, and was temporarily broken up, or else they entered with their treasures into the service of the Ethiopian kings. All such accounts and traditions are not fables; but we must not take them literally. The case of mythical and poetical tales is quite different; they must not be reduced to what may be regarded as historically probable, a mode of proceeding against which I loudly protest. But the above mentioned account is supported by other testimony, for we know that there existed an Egyptian colony south of Meroë. Herodotus (ii. 30) relates that

[6] "The existence of a colony in Nigritia has now been confirmed by the travels of Clapperton and Denham; the Prince of Saccatoo gave Clapperton a book containing the statement that there existed a colony, which either still spoke Coptic, or at least did so till some centuries ago. There is no possibility of an imposition being practised here."—(Comp. Denham and Clapperton's *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries*, vol. ii. p. 399, foll. 2d edit.—Ed.)

the Egyptian soldiers, having been kept engaged as a garrison for three years, and without relief, at Elephantina, against the Ethiopians, and in the Pelusian Daphnae against the Arabs and Assyrians, emigrated to the number of two hundred and forty thousand and surrendered to the king of Ethiopia. There is no necessity for admitting the correctness of this enormous number, although the occurrence itself is credible enough. Two hundred and forty thousand certainly were not stationed at Elephantina, nor would such a number have been able to find either the means of living, or the boats required for their journey; an emigration even of some thousands is remarkable enough.

"Through these colonies, foreign civilization was introduced into Egypt, so far as this was possible in a country divided into castes, and which was beginning to lose its own native civilization." Psammetichus opened his dominions to the Greeks also for commercial intercourse, and Egypt, which had for centuries been closed against foreigners, was now thrown open to Europeans. "As all who touched unclean animals, or killed sacred ones, were an abomination in the eyes of the Egyptians, the intercourse with the Greeks was a great inconvenience to them; hence" the emporium at Naucratis was assigned to the Greeks. All commerce with the Greeks was carried on there, just as in China and Japan Europeans are admitted only at Canton and Nangasaki. Every Greek city had there its separate community, its separate factories, and separate magistrates; and the whole place together does not appear to have formed one civil community, but a combination of the most different nations. There were Ionians, Milesians, Mitylenaeans, etc. The condition of ancient Naucratis was similar to that of Ptolemais or S. Giovanni d'Acri (Acca) at the time of the crusades, which was one of the causes why the crusades failed in their object.[7] The elements of

[7] "The enthusiasm with which men were inspired at the time of the crusades has, to my feelings, something truly grand, though unfortunately it was not unaccompanied by horrors. Their failure was the greatest misfortune for Europe; the Eastern empire would not have been crushed by the Turks, if Europeans had become masters of Syria and Egypt. Those countries would have acquired a European civilization, and Europe would have there extended its basis, instead of planting a new world be-

dissolution which those colonies contained in themselves from their very foundation, produced their inevitable consequences. At Jerusalem, for example, the king had no jurisdiction in the quarter of the Holy Sepulchre, because the patriarch was sovereign there; nor had the king any power within the dominion of the three great orders of knights. But in S. Giovanni d'Acri, the number of independencies was as great as in the poor Holy Roman empire of the German nation." Almost all the Italian states had their own sovereignty in that town; in one street Pisa was the sovereign, and a Pisan could be tried only by his own consul; in another, Venice, Genoa, or Marseilles, exercised the supreme power; so that every city had there its own quarter and its own magistrates. The French formed a distinct body, and so did the orders of knights: and there was a quarter of the Pope in which the patriarch was the sovereign. Thus there existed twelve or thirteen independent states within the same walls. If a person who had killed another escaped into another quarter, he was free. Such, no doubt, was the condition of Naucratis, though it was under the sovereignty of the Egyptian kings.

The beginning of this Saitic dynasty, according to Herodotus, belongs to Olymp. xxvii. 3, that is B. C. 670, or the year 78 of the Nabonassarian era,[8] "the time in which Assyria ruled over Western Asia and Syria, as far as the frontiers of Egypt—shortly after the death of Sanherib: Upper Asia was already free."[9]

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yond the Atlantic, which, whatever may be said to the contrary, stands in a hostile relation to us, and is irreconcilable with the existence of Europe. By an extension of European culture to the East, all destroyers of civilization would have been checked, God's paradise on earth would have been cultivated, and the number of European nations with European civilization would have become all the greater."

[8] This should probably be Olymp. 27, 2, that is B. C. 671, or the year 77 of the Nabonassarian era, as Niebuhr places the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in Olymp. 63, 3.—Ed.

[9] "The years of the Egyptian kings in Africanus and Manetho, are utterly irreconcilable with those in Herodotus; so also the statements in Syncellus, and still more so those in Eusebius, who altered dates according to his own hypotheses. The sum total, however, is not very different. Between Tirhaka and Psammetichus, Africanus has only twenty-one years;

This dynasty represents the restoration of Egypt, as the Sassanidae represent the restoration of Persia. Under Psammetichus, and, after him, under Necho and Psammis, the kingdom rose again, and those Egyptians who had forgotten the ancient splendour, may have imagined that they had attained a high degree of authority and power. The most powerful among the successors of Psammetichus, however, was Necho, whose reign was contemporaneous with the invasion of the Scythians in Media and Assyria. "Egypt evidently adopted quite a different policy from the moment that it began to form connexions with foreign nations; and it now endeavoured to subdue Syria." The invasion of the Scythians, which no doubt gave to the empire of Nineveh a fatal blow, was assuredly also one of the causes through which Nineveh had latterly lost its dominion over Syria. Traces of this occur in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, in the history of Josiah, who evidently reigns over the districts which had become depopulated by the transplantation of the Ten Tribes, and exercised a kind of supremacy over those who had remained behind. He foresaw the impending danger, and turned his attention to the East; there can be no doubt that he was already under the protection of Babylon, with which he had probably formed an alliance against Nineveh. Necho now undertook the subjugation of Syria, and it was there that Josiah boldly attempted to check his passage, and at the encounter near Megiddo, lost his life in battle. Jerusalem was plundered by the Egyptians, and after this victory Necho succeeded in subduing Syria as far as the river Euphrates. But there, while Nabopolassar was yet reigning, he lost a decisive battle near Circesium (Carchemish, at the point where the Chaboras empties itself into the Euphrates) against the Babylonians, under the command of Nebucadnezar; and the defeat must have been very great, as from that time he made no further attempt to maintain Syria, or as the Scriptures say, "the king of Egypt quitted his kingdom no more."[10]

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and if they are added to the Saitic dynasty, we obtain, according to his calculation, 150 years and six months. Herodotus, on the other hand, has 145 years from Psammetichus to Cambyses. The differences occur in the reigns of Apries and Necho."—1826.

[10] "The fact that Egypt was not conquered by Nebucadnezar, as might

Notwithstanding this loss, his reign remained a period of greatness and splendour. He did not rest; but with the assistance of Greeks he caused ships to be built, an undertaking which was difficult for Egypt, because it had no timber, and no beams except those of the sycamore tree. This was in fact the reason why the rulers of Egypt always strove to make themselves masters of Syria, which is richer in excellent timber than any other country. Egypt cannot maintain a navy without possessing Syria and Mount Lebanon; and without a navy Egypt is quite defenceless. In later times, too, the greatness of the Ptolemies depended upon their possessing Lebanon and the maritime towns of Phoenicia; and they were powerless, as soon as they had lost them. The two dynasties of the Mamelukian Sultans likewise endeavoured to make themselves masters of Syria, and their great predecessor Saladin had ruled over both countries.

After the victory over Necho, Nebucadnezar continued the war against Syria, and attacked Phoenicia with particular vehemence.

I will not here discuss the question whether the Phoenicians had come from the Persian Gulph, a tradition which is treated by modern writers as an undisputed fact, notwithstanding the great uncertainty which exists in the accounts of the ancients on this point. "This tradition seems to suggest nothing else than that the Phoenicians had commercial settlements on the Persian Gulph as in other distant countries."[11]

In the historical times we find them settled in a strange manner along the coast of Syria; they nowhere penetrate far into the interior of the country, and although they are, in race, closely akin to the Syrians, they present at the same time essential differences from them. Their seats commence in the neighbourhood of the ancient town of Caesarea: their southernmost point

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be inferred from Berosus and the Scriptures, seems to be attested by the fate of the Jewish people: many of them fled before him into Egypt without being overtaken by him. The accounts of Herodotus, too, leave no doubt that Egypt was not taken, though the Babylonians may have entered the country."—1826.

[11] Comp. Strabo, p. 766, c.

is Acca, and higher up we find Sidon, Tyre and Aradus, their three ancient capitals; farther on we come to Tripolis, a colony of all these three cities, and thus their colonies extended along the coast as far as the Bay of Issus, where Myriandrus was their last settlement.

The same Phoenicians also occur in Cyprus, where the Greeks did not establish themselves till a later period; and in the earliest times we find them scattered over most of the islands of the Aegean, where the tombs discovered by the Athenians, when they purified Delos, were full of Phoenicians (?).[12] In the Island of Thasos there was a Phoenician colony; Cythera, off the coast of Laconia, was Phoenician; and the coasts of Sicily and the surrounding islands were occupied by a number of Phoenician settlements long before the Greeks established themselves in those quarters. On the coast of Africa, beginning with Leptis, they possessed, between the two Syrtes, the three towns (the Tripolis), and independently of Carthage, which was of comparatively recent origin, they had occupied with their colonies all the ports as far as the frontiers of the empire of Algiers; and in very remote times they had extended their possessions in Sardinia and on the coasts of Spain, as far as Cadiz or Gadir, which was a much more ancient settlement than Carthage.

The Phoenicians were thus a wide-spread people, but notwithstanding this great extension, we strangely find no real root or stock of them; and this is one of the most mysterious phenomena in history. The Phoenicians, indeed, possessed subject countries, besides the Syrian coasts, but on that coast the Phoenician population nowhere extends more than three or four English miles into the interior. There can be no doubt that the Phoenicians belonged to the race of the Canaanites; Sidon in particular appears in this light in Joshua and in Judges; the same is also visible from the genealogy; for according to the passage of an ancient grammarian (in Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 1181), Agenor is called a son of Chnas, which can be nothing else than a contracted form of Canaan. We may, therefore, suppose that the Phoenicians were Canaanites, who, being overpowered in their own

[12] Comp. Thucyd. i. 8; Herod. (?)

country of Canaan, clung to the coast; and being pressed from without extended further and further along the sea, and sent out innumerable colonies. They first founded Tripolis, Berytus, etc., and then made themselves masters of the wealthy island of Cyprus. They accordingly resemble those plants, whose roots scarcely enter the soil, and yet spread all around far and wide; there are in fact plants requiring only the nutriment of water, and without sending their roots into the ground, thrive and flourish in the air. In like manner the Phoenicians also had in reality no firm ground under them.[13]

"The several towns governed themselves independently under kings; how long the latter were hereditary we know not; but perhaps they were so until the dominion of the Persians. The accounts of Menander only suggest that they were elected from one γένος, and were not always kings, but sometimes only suffetes or judges.

We have no information whatever of the relation existing among the towns themselves. It is possible that in ancient times they formed a confederacy, which seems to be attested by the success of their great undertakings; Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus perhaps stood in the relation of Rome and Latium."

It is a common opinion, that Tyre was a colony of Sidon; but this is by no means certain, for Tyre, that is πάλαι Τύρος on the mainland must, according to the Phoenician statements, have been a very ancient city. It is quite a different question as to whether the account which Herodotus received from priests in a temple of Hercules at Tyre, are deserving of attention, or whether

[13] "The Phoenicians had histories going back to very ancient times. The books of Sanchuniathon, if they did exist at all in the Phoenician language, were, it is true, not very old; and they were probably only a forgery of Philo of Byblos, who pretended to have translated them; but there did exist ancient historical works. The loss of the history of Phoenicia by Menander of Ephesus, who belongs to the time of the successors of Alexander, is very much to be regretted. Josephus has preserved some valuable fragments of it. If we possessed that work, we should, with the assistance of Berosus, Manetho, and the books of the Old Testament, be able to arrive at most important results."—1826. Comp., on the other hand, *Lectures on Rom. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 10. foll.—Ed.

they must be ascribed to the vaunting and lying disposition of the priests; this question I will not decide, for we know extremely little about the Phoenicians.

LECTURE IX.

"THE island of Cyprus, in Hebrew Chittim, was the nearest and most important possession of the Phoenicians. We know nothing as to the population which they found in that island; it is possible that they may have been Cilicians, but to what stock the latter belonged, is likewise unknown. The Phoenicians established themselves along the coast, and founded Citium, which is the same name as Chittim. Cyprus is one of the most magnificent countries in the world, and abounds in the most varied productions; notwithstanding the very bad government of the Venetians, it was always very rich, but now it is a desert. It produced the most excellent timber, possessed rich mines of silver and copper, and the greatest abundance of all kinds of fruit." The importance of the Phoenician empire was heightened mainly by the fact, that being masters of Cyprus they were in possession of by far the greatest copper mines in the ancient world, which even now are unquestionably by no means exhausted; but if they were actively worked would yield a rich produce. Cyprus, were it not that it is inhabited by barbarians, might yet recover its ancient importance. But it was not copper only of which they thus had the almost exclusive possession. Of all the metals, copper is most frequently found in a solid condition, whence it has been correctly inferred that it was the first of all metals that was wrought by man. It is easily worked and easily melted; it is moreover found in most mountains; but its application seems nevertheless to have remained very limited, so long as the process of alloying it with tin or zinc was unknown; for it is only through such an alloy that it becomes applicable to the endless variety of purposes for which brass was employed by the ancients, with

whom brass supplied the place of steel. It cannot however be supposed, that the addition of zinc was an invention that was made at an early period of antiquity. As the ancients called latten spurious brass—they called it ὀρείχαλκος, half-brass, mule-brass (in Theophrastus)—the name seems to indicate that the alloy of copper and zinc, and the reduction of zinc from calamine (oxyde of zinc) is a later invention, and that in the earlier times tin only was alloyed with it. In the most ancient bronzes extant, we always find in fact tin only, and no alloy of zinc: thus the ancient heavy Roman ases consist only of copper and tin, whereas the copper money under the Roman emperors contains zinc; the same is the case with the extant monuments and works of art. Now as brass was used by the ancients in such a variety of ways, and as tin is not found anywhere in the ancient world, except in Britain and a few districts of Germany which cannot be taken into consideration here, we at once see the importance of the commercial intercourse with Cornwall. The connection between Phoenicia and Britain was very ancient, and this was the reason why the Phoenicians founded Gades, as a staple of the commerce with Britain. The tin was exported from Britain in ships to Cadiz, and from the latter place it was carried further. This traffic was a real and important monopoly. The commerce with Britain by land was afterwards carried on by the road from Nantes on the Loire, Narbonne, Marseilles, and thence to Rome; but in the earlier times this line was altogether out of the question. The Phoenicians maintained their monopoly with great cruelty, and thus it became to them the source of immense wealth. But they not only had the exclusive possession of copper and tin; the art of founding and working in metal also was better understood by them than by others. In the Books of Kings, Phoenician works of art are mentioned; and we see that Solomon employed Phoenician brass-founders. On the other hand, they provided the western world with the products of Asia and Egypt, and this the more, as at that time Egypt had no navy of its own, while the Phoenicians were plentifully provided with timber for ships, from mount Lebanon. Wherever they settled and found mines, they showed the same skill as in Cyprus; such was the

case in Thasos, on the Thracian coast, and in Spain, where they worked the mines long before the Carthaginians.

The question as to whether there actually was a Phoenician colony at Thebes in Boeotia, has been doubted in modern times, like so many other points. I cannot comprehend how persons can question the expressly repeated testimony and the unanimous opinion of the ancients on this point. The name Cadmus (Kedem = East) and that of his sister Europa (Erev = West) are Phoenician, and in the Boeotian dialect I have been struck by at least a trace of some Phoenician or Aramaic words. The Boeotian word Βάννα (girl, daughter), for instance, which has no resemblance to any Greek word, is almost identical with the Aramaic *Ben*, although I own that this may be a mere accident. "The Phoenicians did not plant such colonies for the purpose of extending their dominion; but they only sought points from which they might command their commerce with foreign nations." In like manner I am convinced, that however mythical Cecrops may be, the belief of the ancients in an influence of Egypt upon Greece, and in an Egyptian colony, in Attica, is yet true, as well as that an actual Egyptian immigration and settlement must have been the foundation of the fables about Danaus and Aegyptus. But we must place such events in those most remote periods between which and the historical primordia there is no connection. "The greatest prosperity of Phoenicia belongs to a very early period; for when we meet them in history, the Greeks are rising, while the Phoenicians are sinking. Thus Thebes became Hellenic, and the Phoenician colonies in Thasos and Cythera disappeared even before the establishment of Greek settlements. In the Homeric poems the Phoenicians appear as impostors and robbers, and between them and the Greeks there existed a bitter enmity. So long as they had the ascendancy in the Mediterranean, the Greeks could not thrive. In the time of Solomon and David, Tyre under its king, Hiram, was still in its highest prosperity; and through their connection with Solomon, the Phoenicians were then enabled to carry on commerce with India and Africa. I place their decay or rather decline in the time of Salmanassar, who led the tribes of Israel into Assyria. Menander makes the passing remark, that he carried on a war with Phoenicia, which

was very injurious to Tyre; he subdued several Phoenician towns whose situations were not so advantageous as that of Tyre.[1] From this state of weakness we see how it was possible for the Greeks about Olymp. 25 to establish colonies in Cyprus, and how, in the reign of Sanherib, a Greek army appeared in Cilicia; for the Greeks then attempted to establish colonies on the Cilician coast; and it is possible that they may have succeeded. The ancients, it is true, place the Greek colonies in Cyprus in very early times; but the story of Teucer is a mere inference from the name *Salamis*, which no doubt is originally Phoenician. *Salama* signifies "the town of peace," and the Greeks identified it with their own name Salamis, and thus invented the connection between the Cyprian and Greek Salamis. But although, in some places, the Phoenicians were repressed by the Greeks, and the great Phoenician factories in distant countries had become independent places, yet the nation, in the time of Nebucadnezar, enjoyed an uncommon degree of prosperity and power. The Phoenicians and especially Sidon, manfully defended their independence against the Babylonian conqueror; but yet the ancient Tyre on the main land was lost after a protracted war, and its inhabitants withdrew to the island, which, however, must not be conceived to have been previously uninhabited, since from the account of Herodotus it is clear, that the temple of Hercules in that island was very ancient. The island, moreover, almost formed the port of Tyre. Nebucadnezar evidently had no navy at his command, for the Tyrians in the island maintained their independence. "But the Phoenicians nevertheless came into a relation of dependence on Babylon, and their power was most severely shaken by Nebucadnezar. Their weakness is most clearly attested by the fact, that Egypt was enabled to form a navy, and under Amasis, to conquer Cyprus."

How far Nebucadnezar extended his conquests towards Nineveh, is not intimated by Berosus; some Greeks call him king of Assyria, Arabia and the like. We may, however, reasonably suppose that, after the destruction of Nineveh, which was the work of a Median king, the whole of Upper Mesopotamia also

[1] Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 14.

fell into the hands of the latter, for the Medes came in contact with the Lydians. The Assyrians in Cappadocia and Pontus, who, even to the last, may have belonged to the empire of Nineveh, likewise seem to have become subjects of the Medes, at the time when Nineveh fell. The Medes came into collision with the Lydians on the river Halys, as early as the reign of Cyaxares; during that collision, mention is made of the kingdom of Cilicia as a state independent of either of the two others; it maintained its independence even at the time when the Lydian power was at its height, and it seems to have submitted to the Persian monarchy in such a manner, that its kings remained vassal princes of Persia. For, in Xenophon's Anabasis, Cilicia is described as a state under a king of the name of Syennesis, a general designation of kings, which also occurs in Herodotus' account of the conflict between the Medes and Lydians. The Lydians, however, seem to have even then ruled over Phrygia, and the narrative of Herodotus is somewhat confused, since we are led by it to believe, that Croesus was the first who extended the empire in Asia Minor as far as the Halys; whereas even Alyattes and Cyaxares had come in contact on that river.

The Lydians are one of those nations whose history has been made extremely difficult and obscure by the confusion of those tribes which at different times inhabited the same country. Later writers call the ancient Lydians sometimes Meonians, and sometimes Lydians. "Strabo alone expresses a doubt as to the identity of the Lydians and Meonians, and they most certainly were not identical.[2] We here have the same phenomenon which we often meet with in antiquity, that a nation which conquers a country deriving its name from its previous inhabitants, is afterwards designated by the name of the conquered." The Meonians stand to the Lydians in the same relations in which the Tyrrhenians stand to the Etruscans; they were the ancient inhabitants of Lydia, and belonged to that race which is known under the general name of Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, as opposed to the Hellenes; they inhabited the coast of Asia Minor, at least as far as the Maeander, and not only that coast, but also a great part

[2] Strabo, 679 B.

of the interior. But we shall have occasion to speak of the Pelasgians further on, when we come to the *origines Graeciae*. Under the name of Tyrrhenians, the Greeks comprise partly the inhabitants of the coasts of Italy from the Arno as far as Oenotria, and partly those of the coast of Asia Minor (afterwards Ionia and Aeolia), of the neighbouring islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace, and also the Pelasgians occupying the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace. I am convinced that the inquiry about the Pelasgians must be looked upon as terminated.[3] The name Lydians does not occur anywhere in the Homeric poems; it is first mentioned in the time of the elegiac poets. Mimnermus speaks of them, and this is not to be wondered at, for they were then a conquering people; and in the poet's life-time took possession of Colophon, his native city. Lydians, it is true, had been in those districts even at an earlier period, but in the Homeric time they did not yet exist there. The Carians and Mysians were akin to them, and sister nations; and these three nations, the ancients say, proceeded from one common ancestor, and had a common language and religion. The Carians are the only one of these three nations in Asia that was known to Homer; neither the Lydians nor Mysians are mentioned by him there; and it is only later writers that have given the names of Mysians and Phrygians to the inhabitants of those countries which, after the time of Homer, were inhabited by Mysians and Phrygians. Thus, even the tragic poets, as Sophocles, but especially Euripides, use the name of the Phrygians for that of the Trojans; and the Latin poets, following the example of the tragic or Alexandrian poets, call the Trojans Phrygians; witness Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. The same name occurs even in the fragments of Ennius, which is natural enough, seeing that the tragic poets of Greece had used it in the same sense nearly 300 years before him. Thus Telephus is called by later poets, both Greek and Roman, a Mysian; while the son of Telephus, in Homer,[4] is the commander of the Ceteians, a people which is unknown to us, as it was to Eusta-

[3] Comp. Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, i. p. 25, foll.; *Klein. Schrift.* vol. i. p. 370, foll.—Ed.

[4] *Odyss.* xi. 521, a son of Telephus; in Alcaeus, Telephus himself.—Ed.

thius, and of which the ancient scholiasts and commentators, the Alexandrines as well as the Pergamenians (in Strabo), likewise knew nothing. But I have no doubt that Telephus the Heracleid was a Pelasgian, and that the Ceteians, as well as the Meonians and the Teucrians in Troy, were a Pelasgian people. Migrations and conquests occurred in those districts no less than in countries where larger tribes quitted their homes. "The Greeks were probably the first who pushed the Meonians into the interior of the country, where they were subdued by the Lydians."

We do not indeed know where the Lydians dwelt before they subdued the Meonians, but I imagine that they lived in Asia Minor, seeing that the Mysians and Carians also dwelt there. The Phrygians are said formerly to have inhabited Thrace, and thence to have crossed over into Asia: a tradition which seems very credible; and this would suggest the following very probable connection:—their immigration pressed upon the Lydians, and the latter threw themselves upon the Meonians, while the Mysians advanced into the districts which had become depopulated by the destruction of the Teucro-Trojan empire. My belief in the existence of Troy and a Teucrian kingdom is as firm as that in the existence of Nineveh and an Assyrian empire; but I have no more belief in the historical nature of the Trojan war than I have in the story of Ganymede being carried off from Mount Ida, or of the judgment of Paris. The fact which forms the groundwork of the whole Trojan war, is a conflict between Hellas and the Teucro-Pelasgian kingdom, which ended with the destruction of the latter.

As regards the stock of nations to which the Lydians, as well as the Carians and Mysians, belonged, we are perfectly in the dark. "All we know of Lydian words is quite foreign to the Greek," and in like manner all the accounts of the ancients describe the Carians as a people differing in its language from the Greek (Hom. Κᾶρες βαρβαρόφωνοι): but although they were very different from the Greeks in their language, and especially in their religion, yet they shared in the resemblance of the institutions, which existed between the Greeks and so many other nations, "and were foreign to the

barbarians." The despotism of Asia does not occur among the Carians, whose institutions were as republican as those of the Greeks. In their own country, moreover, they were a vigorous and robust people, defending its liberty against the Persians as manfully as the Greeks. They consisted of a number of independent cities; that is, they had hereditary kings and popular assemblies. "The Lydians, on the other hand, present in their institutions a stronger resemblance to the Asiatics; they formed a large state, and thereby afterwards lost the warlike spirit, for which they had before been distinguished." But even among them, φυλαὶ and γένη are expressly mentioned, a fact intimating, that they had gentes or clans like the Greeks and Romans. "They also had φρατρίαι, Greek games and Greek education. Respecting the Mysians little information has come down to us. The Greeks connected with their name the idea of contemptibleness: Μυσῶν ἔσχατοι." The Lydians and Carians were talented nations; they cultivated the arts, and in their manners were by no means inferior to the civilisation of the Greeks. Whether this was a common characteristic of the nations round the Mediterranean, or whether they acquired that civilisation through their conquest of the Tyrrhenian Meonians, the brothers of the Hellenes, I cannot say, and it is impossible to come to any certain conclusion upon this point. But it is a fact that in the arts of life the Lydians were as far advanced as the Greeks themselves; and the same was the case with the Pamphylians. The coins of these nations display Greek art in its highest perfection. There are, for example, very ancient gold coins, without inscriptions, but with the figure of a lion, which are found in Ionia and Asia Minor, and are brought into Europe from Smyrna; I believe them to be ancient Lydian coins, and I imagine that they are the same as those mentioned by Herodotus: other Lydian coins do not exist. The Lydians derived gold enough from the sand of the river Pactolus. Herodotus expressly says, that they were the first who coined money, and the rich presents which Croesus sent to the temples of Greece, show that they had abundance of gold. The lion was the talisman of Sardis; he was the offspring of an ancient king (Herod. i. 84), was carried round Sardis, and the city was thought impregnable in those parts round which the

lion had been carried—just as Achilles was invulnerable in those parts which had been dipped in the river Styx. Those coins show the beginning of a noble art, although they are very ancient, and may safely be assigned to the time of Croesus. "The Carian coins, which, it is true, belong to a somewhat later date, are of the most perfect beauty. The Carians used the ancient Cadmean alphabet, and wrote from the right to the left; that they wrote their own language, is clear from the inscriptions on their coins; but they do not appear to have had a literature of their own.

"In the earliest period of Greek history, the Carians were a great nation; and we meet them everywhere as navigators and pirates." According to accounts which admit of no doubt (Thucyd. i. 4), they formerly inhabited the real Cyclades, at a time when the northern islands of the Aegean were occupied by Pelasgians. "Under the name of Leleges they dwelt in the συνεχὴς Ἑλλάς." For this reason we cannot consider them to have immigrated from the north, any more than their brethren, the Lydians and Mysians, who originally seem to have inhabited the country afterwards occupied by the Phrygians.

While among the Carians and Lydians we meet with Greek institutions, the Phrygians are complete Asiatics, without a trace of Greek civilisation, of free cities, free constitutions, corporations, gentes and tribes, which form the basis of a free state in antiquity. The Phrygians are a people which was essentially governed in a despotic way, and hence, in comparison with the Greeks, they are conceived from the earliest times as living in the condition of slaves. Not so the Lydians; they are free men, even when they live under the yoke of Persia.[5] "The importance of Phrygia belongs to an ante-historical period; it then extended from the Hellespont to Cappadocia: whether Lesser Phrygia on the Hellespont was inhabited by Phrygians, we know not. All we know about Phrygia, is that their country was governed by kings, the first of whom is said to have been called Gordius, and that traditions of a very wealthy Phrygian king,

[5] The three paragraphs from p. 84, "As regards the stock of nations," etc., down to this point have been transferred, the first from the end of Lect. IX., and the second and third from the beginning of Lect. X.—Ed.

Midas, were sometimes referred to Phrygia and sometimes to Macedonia. The Pamphylians and Lycians were, like the Carians, susceptible of free institutions; the Lycians formed a confederacy of twelve towns, which maintained themselves against the Lydians. The Pisidians were a rude but free people."

We read in Herodotus the statement that the Lydians were governed by two dynasties, that of the Heracleids, and that of the Mermnadae; and that the former ended with Candaules, and the latter began with Gyges. Now my conjecture is, that the Heracleids, as a Pelasgian dynasty, were foreign to the Lydians, that the Mermnadae were real Lydians, and that the establishment of the latter dynasty was probably the time at which the Meonian rulers were overpowered and expelled by the Lydians. The Heracleids are called descendants of Heracles, through Ninus and Belus; and this either indicates that they were actually descended from an Assyrian family, or it has no other meaning than that the Heracleid dynasty of the Pelasgian people submitted to the supremacy of the king of Nineveh, and thus connected itself with the race of Ninus and Belus. I must direct your attention to the fact, though it may be a mere accident, that the ancestor of the Meonian Heracleids is called Agron, and that the Tyrrhenian king of Caenina, whom Romulus slew, likewise bears the name of Acron. It is possible that there may be a connection in the ancient legends; but I can neither prove nor refute it, for no man can do so; and I know well that it is merely a matter of possibility, and that such things are very dangerous. To myself it is very probable, that the two dynasties represented the two empires in that country—the Heracleids that of the Meonians, and the Mermnadae that of the Lydians; but I would not lead you to take this hypothesis as something true: regard it only as a thing that is possible.

"From Agron to Candaules, the son of Myrsus, a period of 505 years is calculated to have elapsed; Candaules fell in an insurrection of Gyges, whose reign, according to Herodotus, began in Olymp. 16,4, that is B. C. 713, or the thirty-fifth year of the Nabonassarian era. This date, however, cannot be considered as chronologically accurate, as Gyges himself is mythical; this much, however, is certain, that he reigned about that time

as king of Lydia, as Archilochus sang of him as a contemporary.[6] But he is as little historical as his contemporary Numa; so late does history begin, not only with foreign nations, but with the Greeks themselves. The nations lived in an innocent enjoyment of life, unconcerned about recording their exploits. It is highly remarkable to find a similar phenomenon among the Suliotes: their remotest historical recollection does not go farther back than 150 years: they perform daily new feats, but do not think of historical records. Gyges often appears in popular traditions, and always in the character of a rebel." He is no other than the one mentioned in Plato's Republic; and the story in Herodotus is evidently a translation of an ancient tale, so modified as to become probable. The principal point in the story is, that Gyges sees without being seen. He possesses a means of making himself invisible, and just as the hero in our national epic has his miraculous cap, so Gyges has a ring which performs that service for him. We may therefore suppose, that in the ancient story he once saw the queen by means of this ring. But the ring did not make him absolutely invisible, all depended upon the circumstance as to whether he turned the stone set in the ring towards the inside or towards the outside of the hand; once, accordingly, having turned his ring in the wrong way, he was seen by the queen, who left him no other choice but either to slay her husband, Candaules, or to die himself. This is purely a piece of mythical poetry, and the version in Herodotus a popular tradition, in which the marvellous is translated into the

[6] "Besides this statement of Herodotus respecting the period of the Mermnadae, there is yet another in the second part of the Chronicle of Eusebius, which, like the whole of ancient Greek chronology, in his tables, is taken from Africanus, who derived it from Apollodorus of Athens. In this passage of Eusebius, the beginning of the dynasty of the Mermnadae is placed twenty-two years later. The difference is, indeed, not great; but as both have no real history, we shall adhere to the statement of Herodotus. The Lydians, it should be observed, had an historian of their own: Xanthus, the Lydian, wrote, probably in the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, a history of his country in Greek. The genuineness of his work has been doubted; but it seems to have been the more authentic, the more its accounts were contradictory to the Greek fables respecting the origin of the people."—1826.

extraordinary.[7] It may, however, be regarded as a fact, that it was Gyges who raised the Lydians to the rank of a ruling nation.

Soon after this the Lydians appear as a powerful people, and the Greek cities on the coast seem to have experienced great changes through them. Even Gyges is said to have conquered Colophon, and to have subdued the Ionian, Aeolian, and all the other Greek towns. Before that time there is no mention whatever of those towns being subject to Meonian or Lydian rulers. The Colophonians at that period were very powerful, not only at sea by navigation and commerce, but also by land; they were especially renowned for their numerous cavalry; by means of which they ruled far and wide in that district. The Margites, whose author belongs to Colophon, was composed during that period of prosperity. It is one of those places in Grecian story concerning the greatness of which, as in the case of Orchomenos, we have no historical accounts; but great recollections and monuments attest its high prosperity. It was the most powerful of the Ionian cities; Gyges took it with the exception of its acropolis, and thenceforth it was an insignificant place. "The greater part of its inhabitants emigrated to Italy." The successors of Gyges followed in the same track, conquering one Greek town after another. Those towns evidently fell into decay during this period; their prosperous days were gone. It is possible that Sardis had been the capital of the Meonians, but it is certain that it occupied that rank among the Lydian towns. "It had a very strong acropolis; the precipitous rocks were crowned with a wall, like those in what are called Cyclopian towns. On the highest point stood temples and the royal palace, which were, no doubt, very splendid; in the plain below was the city, with its houses built of clay and wood, as was generally the case in the towns of antiquity."

[7] These remarks on the story of Gyges have been transferred to this place from a previous part of this Lecture.—Ed.

LECTURE X.

While the Lydian kings extended their dominions, they themselves were visited by repeated inroads of the Treres and Cimmerians, whose invasions of Asia Minor are connected with the inroads of the Scythians into Media. But who would undertake to prove, that those Scythians who invaded Media were the same people as the one which Herodotus knew under the same name to the north of the Euxine? They were one of the nomadic nations which are peculiar to those parts of northern Asia, where nothing attaches man permanently to a locality, where there is nothing but plains and steppes, and where consequently nature herself has destined the nations to live as nomades. It is possible that they were the Scythians whom Herodotus describes, but they may also have been other nomadic people of a kindred race, dwelling about Mount Caucasus, the Volga and the Caspian. I will not dispute this; but an unbiassed inquirer cannot consider it probable, that they were Scythians from the Ukraine and the Crimea, who had made their way round Mount Caucasus through the passes of Derbend. The whole account of their expedition and retreat has in general, in its details, the appearance and characteristics of a fiction; but we must not on that account throw away the wheat with the chaff, by rejecting the whole account of the invasion. Such things are traditions of nations speaking a foreign language, which have been propagated from mouth to mouth, and we must not forget that Herodotus here does not give us what he himself saw and could answer for. For there is the greatest difference between the geographical accounts of nations whom he himself had visited, and the narratives which he gives as he heard them. Wherever he found a clear history which was communicated to him, he recorded it faithfully and conscientiously; but where he found unconnected narratives, he confounded them, and forgot the chronology.[1]

[1] The remark given above in p. 99, note, has been transferred from this place, and deserves to be remembered here.—Ed.

Obscure recollections have been preserved of the inroads of the Treres and Cimmerians, whose commander is called Lygdamis, a name which is too much like a Greek word not to be considered as interpolated. The Cimmerians traversed Asia Minor like the Gauls, captured Sardis, with the exception of its acropolis, ravaged the whole country, plundered the temple of Ephesus, and established themselves in several places, as the Galatians did in the mountains about Ancyra. They established themselves in particular at Sinope, in an island which was well protected and spacious, and was connected with the main land by an isthmus. This island was their acropolis, there they collected their booty, and thence they visited Asia Minor in all directions, until in the end they were overpowered. The country was delivered from the Cimmerians in the reign of King Alyattes of Lydia; "whither they then turned their steps, is unknown, and it would be too bold to make conjectures about their fate."

The succession of the kings of the dynasty of the Mermnadae is thus stated: Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes,[2] Croesus. Their history is remarkable, inasmuch as they continued the conquest of the Greek cities, which fell one after another, until Croesus is said to have subdued the whole peninsula as far as the river Halys, and to have completed the reduction of the Greek cities. He is even reported to have intended to build a fleet for the purpose of conquering the Greek islands in the neighbourhood. But I believe that more is referred to him than actually belongs to him, and that his predecessors had already extended their conquests farther. For the period of fourteen years which he is said to have reigned, is much too short for him to have accomplished all that is ascribed to him, and long before his time Alyattes had come into conflict with Cyaxares on the river Halys, evidently because the dominion of the Lydians extended thus far; and because the Median empire,

[2] "Herodotus relates that an immense mound of earth was raised in honour of Alyattes, something like the Mexican pyramids. Mr. Harris, the British Consul, who had been educated at Smyrna, related to me that there still existed a mound, which, he was perfectly convinced, was the same as the one mentioned by Herodotus."—1826.

after the conquest of Nineveh likewise extended as far as that river. A total eclipse of the sun is said to have occurred on that occasion; but M. Oltmanns has calculated, that this eclipse cannot have been a total one for those countries. It has probably been connected in an unjustifiable and arbitrary manner with the wars between Alyattes and Cyaxares. Herodotus indeed errs in many respects, as in his account of the journey of Solon to Croesus; for I believe that Solon did not live to see that time, and that he was not contemporary with Pisistratus "and the reign of Croesus," consequently that journey must be a mere fiction, and a blunder has been committed in synchronising the events. The observations of eclipses of the sun, moreover, made by the Babylonians after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, are recorded in the Babylonian canon (Olymp. 60, 1);[3] and the date of that conquest is thereby as firmly established, as the capture of Moscow or Paris; for by it all the observations of the sun and moon were fixed. If we make our calculation according to this, it is impossible that the above-mentioned eclipse of the sun should have occurred during the war between Alyattes and Cyaxares. The eclipse, it is true, did occur, but I maintain that it has been referred to that war between Lydia and Media only by tradition, and without any historical ground.[4]

With the exception of Cilicia and Syria, Croesus ruled over the whole peninsula like a renowned king and mighty conqueror in a mythical tradition; and he does not appear as a man who was not brought to his senses until his misfortune and fall, but as a wise, mild, and beneficent prince, who was beloved even

[3] According to the system, by which the year at the commencement of which a prince ascends the throne, is counted as his first, so that Cyrus took Babylon not in his first year (210 of the Nabon. era), but in the last year of Nabonnedus (209 of the Nabon. era). Compare *Klein. Schrift.* vol. i. p. 222.—Ed.

[4] The doubts which Niebuhr here raises against connecting Thales' eclipse of the sun with the battle between Alyattes and Cyaxares, can be referred only to the fact that the eclipse calculated by Oltmanns, and belonging to the 30th of September, 610 B. C. (*Abhandl. der Berlin. Acad. der Wissensch.* 1812 and 13) was not *quite* a total one. In all other respects it

by the Greeks over whom he ruled. His dominion over the Greek cities did not reduce them to the condition of Eastern servitude; they were indeed obliged to send him their contingents, to pay tribute, and obey his will; but in their internal affairs they were left undisturbed, and the greatest prosperity of Miletus belongs to this very period of Lydian power, so that we may assume the Lydian yoke to have been very light. Croesus was the first foreign prince who, after the fall of the Teucrian kingdom, founded, in the vicinity of Greece, a mighty empire; and the first prince who was proud of the appellation of φιλέλλην: a phenomenon which is often repeated in subsequent history; for kings even of the interior of Asia, nay, as far as India, were proud of receiving the title of φιλέλλην, and adopted the manners and arts of the Greeks. The age of Croesus was also favourable to the development of the arts. Every one knows his liberality towards the temples of Greece, which may have arisen from a religious feeling; but we cannot fail to perceive in it a barbarian anxious for higher culture, to whom it was a matter of interest to win the affection and esteem of the Greeks, and to whom the praise and applause of the Greeks were more valuable than the jewels of his crown. What was said by Alexander: "O, ye Athenians, how much I do, how much I endure, to win your praise!" has been felt by many other barbarian princes of later times, whose pride it was to be

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harmonises very well with Niebuhr's chronological scheme, as the following table shows:

B.C. 634, Cyaxares.
B.C. 626, Sadyattes.
B.C. 625, Conquest of Nineveh.
B.C. 614, Alyattes.
B.C. 610, Eclipse of the sun (battle, marriage of Astyages with the daughter of Alyattes).
B.C. 595, Astyages.

If there are difficulties in this chronology, as, for example, in regard to the duration of the rule of the Scythians, they are not connected with that eclipse of the sun, and had no weight with Niebuhr, as he considers the succession of the Median kings, according to Herodotus, to be mythical (see above, p. 34, foll.); and he does not in fact mention these difficulties.—Ed.

beloved and praised by the Greeks; but Croesus exhibits the first example of this feeling.

If the Median empire had remained as it was, if its rival Babylon had retained its dominion over all Assyria and Phoenicia, and if the Median empire had continued to extend over Media, Upper Asia, Armenia, but only with a weak power over Upper Asia, as has been the case so often—if, I say, these relations had continued only one generation longer, the kingdom of Croesus would have become so much consolidated, that he would have been beyond all danger, and might perhaps have defied even the Persians under Cyrus. He did indeed perceive the danger which threatened him from that quarter, and he knew the importance of the Greeks, as well as the superiority of their tactics, and therefore concluded alliances with them, especially with the Lacedemonians; and had he been able to meet the Persians with some Greek mercenaries, he might perhaps have saved his kingdom. But circumstances were unfavourable to him; the practice of serving as mercenaries among the Greeks was just then on the decrease, in comparison with what it had been before, and while formerly it had been very easy to find adventurers ready to seek their fortunes in distant countries, just as 150 years later there were in Greece thousands of men ready to serve any one who would make use of them—it was just then extremely difficult to engage Greek troops as mercenaries. Greece had at that time sent out the surplus of its population as colonists; there was then no over-population; it was a period of increasing prosperity and development—and Croesus was overpowered by the Persians.

Cyaxares was succeeded by Astyages in the government of his hereditary kingdom of Media. In his reign the Persians are first mentioned, and in such a manner, that it cannot be doubted that even then they formed an independent kingdom, comprising the province of Farsistan, connected, perhaps, with Kerman, as was the case afterwards in the time of the Parthians. The name of the Persians is very indefinite; in later times it became so extended that it was synonymous with the inhabitants of the vast Persian empire; but in the earlier times the Greeks designated by that name only the inhabitants of Farsistan, and in a

somewhat wider sense, those of Chusistan (of which Susa was the capital) and Kerman also.[5] No one will doubt that these nations belong to one and the same race, though the inhabitants of Farsistan are more particularly called *the* Persian. This limitation of the name has been carried too far; I formerly did so myself, when in speculating on the history of nations I occupied myself with the study of Eastern languages, and was studying Persian with great pleasure. At that time I was very much overwhelmed by doubts and difficulties in consequence of the remarks of Persian grammarians on their dialects. It is quite impossible to remove all difficulties. I hope that sound criticism will yet be able to determine what Persian dialect was spoken under the Sassanidae; as yet this has not been ascertained, although several persons in England might easily do so very satisfactorily. In the prefaces to the Persian lexicographers eight dialects are mentioned, and I, like most others, imagined, that all these languages proceeded from Farsistan, and were dialects of the gradually spreading Persian language. But this notion is assuredly false; the Persian was far more widely spread. The ancient inhabitants of Iran as far as Chorassan and Sistan, were all of the Persian stock, and that stock extended even as far as Bokhara, before it was taken by the Tartars, "as in fact even at present, according to the accounts of intelligent travellers, there are Persians living in a state of oppression, as far as the river Oxus." In those countries the genuine Persian language was spoken then as it is now; but together with it there existed the mixed languages, called the Pehlvi and Pushtoo languages. The Pehlvi is a mixture of Assyrian and Persian, and has some resemblance to the language of the Kurds; its grammar is derived from the Persian, but there is a strong admixture of Syro-Aramaic roots. Of the other language, spoken by the Afghans (the Pushtoo), I have only a very imperfect notion; we have a work upon it by a German, but he is not a thorough philologer. The Iranic character strongly prevails in this language.

[5] "Herodotus indeed speaks of the Persians under Cyrus as if they had been the inhabitants of a small canton, who might easily be assembled in one place; but this is an illusion of the historian, who did not penetrate into Asia farther than Babylon, and to whom consequently all the countries east of that city were unknown."—1826.

The Zend was probably a living language among the Medes, for it must have been a living language somewhere; it is a sister-language of the Sanscrit, but its words are more numerous, and more of a polysyllabic character. The Medes and Persians were essentially different nations. There is a great difference between the Persians under the Sassanidae and those under Cyrus: under the former, much that was peculiar and originally Persian, but had been crushed by the influence of the Medes, was set free and allowed to develop itself. It was among the Medes that the religion of Zoroaster either sprang up, or was at least developed as a system; and to them the Magi belonged. The Persians first received this religion from them. The present fire-worshippers, on the contrary, admit no proselytes to their religion. It is a remarkable fact, that the religion of the Medes gained the upper-hand among the Persians also. Among the Medes, the Magi were the ruling tribe; whence we may infer that they were foreign emigrants who had conquered the other Medes; even Herodotus distinguishes the γένεα of the Medes. These Magi were looked upon by the Persians with a national aversion, but notwithstanding this the latter adopted their religion, and, what is still more surprising, they professed it with great zeal and faith. In commemoration of the murder of the Magi, they celebrated a festival under the name of the Magophonia; and yet, strange to say, they zealously observed their religion. It seems very probable to me, that the Zend was the language of the Magi, and that they came into Media as conquerors. There can be no doubt, that there was some connection between the genuine Medes and the Armenian (?) people, but more we cannot say; all the rest is only matter of conjecture. There is often a great difference between the languages spoken by the same people; tribes that live in close contiguity often speak different languages, and there are some languages which are spoken exclusively by certain families. Thus the inhabitants of valleys speak a language very different from that of the mountaineers; and the language of the Dilems is even now quite different from the Persian. This is a subject for linguistic investigation, which will throw much light on history. There is a great similarity between the Slavonian and Persian languages in their substantives, and, what is

still more important, in the particles also; "for it is not these latter, but the substantives that are usually adopted from one language by another." It is also surprising, that a bitch, "for which, according to Herodotus, the Persian name is *spaco*," is similarly called in all the Slavonic languages; and that the name of the Sauromatae in Slavonic signifies "northern Medes." But we must distinguish between the mass of the nation and its ruling tribe; and here, too, it is clear, that the stock of the Medes and that which spoke the Zend, were very different.

It is well known that the history of Cyrus (his name signifies "the sun," Koresh, Churshid) has come down to us in two very different versions, that of Herodotus and that of Xenophon. No rational man in our days can look upon Xenophon's history of Cyrus in any other light than that of a romance; and when this is conceded, I believe that every one, who has a right appreciation of antiquity, will consider it as a wretched and silly performance. It was not Xenophon's intention to deceive, he did not at all intend to write a history, or to give it out as a history, but it is as clear as day-light, that his object was to write a political novel in the form of the history of a king. His Cyrus is as little the Cyrus, or Coresh, of history, as the Usong of the great Haller is the true ruler of the Turcomans. The account in Herodotus is very different; but were we to conclude that, whereas Xenophon's narrative is a fiction, that of Herodotus is altogether and strictly historical, the conclusion would be extremely unfortunate. The logic of many people is indeed a strange thing, and there have been historians who thought such a conclusion quite correct. Herodotus, too, in this case, deserves no more credit than he does in the sequel of the Persian history; the whole account of Smerdis, Darius, and Cambyses, is only a popular legend, which he heard and introduced into his work; and it is of no historical value. If any one takes all this as genuine history, I must beg of him also to treat as an historical fact the dream which pursues Xerxes, and in the end discovers that it has addressed the wrong man. My belief and my conviction is, that Herodotus in these cases relates popular traditions.

This only is historically true, that the daughter of King Astyages of Media was married to Cambyses, a vassal prince, or some Persian of rank. Now it may, indeed, be true (for it has

quite the appearance of an oriental affair), that Astyages, when his daughter was delivered of a son, resolved to cause the child to be murdered, in order to rid himself of all apprehensions; but that he was deceived, and that by an exchange the boy was saved. But one is sorry to see Herodotus attempting to reduce the marvellous tale of the Persians to something that seems probable; it happens to him, however, occasionally, that he reduces that which is supernatural into something trivial. The Persians believed that Cyrus had been reared in the mountains by a she-dog; but Herodotus metamorphoses her into a woman, just as some Romans did their she-wolf.

LECTURE XI.

PHILOLOGERS need not be exhorted by me to read Herodotus again and again; to him I refer you for the story of Cyrus. It cannot be my intention here to repeat his inimitable narrative, compared with which any account of mine would be worthless and defective. If I were not convinced that the story of Astyages and Cyrus, such as it is related by Herodotus, does not in any degree approach to history, I should certainly relate it to you; but judging of it as I do, I see no possibility of extracting what is historical from that beautiful popular tradition.

The historical portion in the tradition about Cyrus, in my opinion is, that he roused the Persians to an insurrection against the ruling Medes; and that probably not only the inhabitants of Farsistan, but more or less, all the Persian tribes, supported the insurrection. The Medes, under Astyages, were defeated in the open field; Astyages became the prisoner of his grandson, and all Media fell into the hands of Cyrus. The supreme power was thus transferred to the Persians (B. C. 558). The Medes afterwards repeatedly, or at least twice, attempted to shake off the yoke and recover their power; first in the time of Darius Hystaspis, and secondly in that of Darius Nothus, but each time

to no purpose; for their undertakings were crushed. "The year of the destruction of the Median empire may be assigned to Olymp. 55, 2, or the year 190 of the Nabonassarian era; this is at least a date which for general purposes may be retained."

As the Eastern nations were destined to live under an absolute despotism, it seems to us a difficult question to decide how far a nation could feel an interest in the supremacy of its own race or that of another. We might believe that the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, were all equally under the same absolute power of their princes; but there was nevertheless a difference. Although there are some few instances in Persian history, of Medes having been raised to the highest dignities (as was the case in the Frankish empire, after the conquest of the Romans by the Germans, when a Roman was placed by the Frankish kings on an equality with a Frank, and sometimes even above him), yet the supreme command in the provinces, and other high offices, were entrusted only to men of the Persian nation, and the contrary was done only by way of exception. Another common practice was to exempt the ruling nation from the necessity of paying taxes, which were levied only on the subject tribes. Now it is expressly stated that the Persians did not pay any land-tax, which otherwise is very high and oppressive in Asiatic countries. Many institutions in the East have remained unchanged under the Mahommedans: and such has been the case also with the land-tax, and the ideas respecting landed property. The sovereign from ancient times has always been regarded among the Asiatic nations as the real owner of the soil, and its cultivator as a tenant at will, who cultivates his piece of land only so long as it pleases his master, and has to pay a certain portion of the produce. "This arrangement, which bears a great resemblance to the possession of *ager publicus* among the Romans, is found in India, Persia, among the Carthaginians, and therefore also in Phoenicia." The tax was not always the same, but always stood in proportion to the produce. In some provinces it consisted of half the produce of the land, in others only a quarter either of the net or the gross produce; in India it amounts to one-half of the net produce;

at Carthage it was one-quarter; in Egypt one-fifth; and in Judaea, at the time of the Syrian kings, one-third. In such cases as that related of Joseph, who advised Pharaoh to avail himself of the famine for the purpose of purchasing the land, the land-tax is not general; the two military castes in Egypt never paid taxes on their lands, they were ἀτελεῖς. Such was the case throughout the Persian empire, the agricultural tribes paying a certain portion of their produce, while the Persians themselves were exempt from the tax. "This is the meaning of the term ἀτελεῖς or ἐλεύθεροι, when applied to the ruling nation in opposition to the subject tribes; political freedom was out of the question with the one as well as with the other." In like manner, there can be no doubt that before the time of Cyrus, the Persians were obliged to pay tribute to the Medes, while the latter themselves were exempt, until at an after period circumstances were reversed.[1]

During the summer months, the Persian kings resided at Ecbatana, the capital of the old kings of Media; while they spent the winter in Chusistan, at Susa, on the water Ulai, where in summer it was too hot and unhealthy. However, as is clear from the monuments of Persepolis, they did not entirely forsake the country of their ancestors; for those splendid monuments sufficiently attest, that, when at the height of their power, the kings had their palaces there, and that there they were not only buried, as we know from ancient writers, but that from time to time they also resided there. For it is a fact established beyond a doubt, that those monuments belong to the Persian dynasty which was founded by Cyrus and restored by Darius. "The names which St. Martin and Grotefend have deciphered in the inscriptions of Persepolis, perfectly agree with the names in Herodotus, and with those of the Ptolemean canon: the names of Xerxes and Darius appear in forms which are quite in accordance with the Zend language."

Oriental accounts, indeed, place the erection of these monuments at an earlier period, some ascribing them to Queen Homai,

[1] The whole of this paragraph has been transferred to this place from the beginning of the Lecture.—Ed.

the Persian Semiramis, and others to Jemshid, a fabulous king of the ancient Persian dynasty; but all these Persian accounts of the ancient dynasties of the Pishdadians and Caianians do not in the least deserve to be regarded as historical. Of the dynasty of Cyrus and Darius, and the whole succession of kings whom we know through the Greeks, and who are assuredly strictly historical, they know scarcely anything, and have only the names of two Dariuses. It was, therefore, one of the most deplorable aberrations of partiality for men's own occupations, when, during the latter half of last century, men otherwise deserving of esteem, fell into the unfortunate mistake of attempting to vindicate the authority of the Persian lists of dynasties of Shah Nameh, Firdusi, Mirchond, and others, as being greater than that of the accounts of the Greeks. It is true, these poetical kings occur in the books of Zend-Avesta; that Jemshid, Feridun, and other ancient kings are mentioned in them; it is also true, that the accounts of these dynasties are ancient, and not inventions of Firdusi; but they do not on that account belong less to ancient tradition and poetry, than Hugdietrich and Wolfdietrich, the heroes of our *Heldenbuch*, or than the heroes of the lay of the *Nibelungen*, who do not belong to history at all. In my former lectures, I have given an account of these Persian traditions concerning their dynasties, but I now pass them over, because I believe such an account to be superfluous. They belong to a sphere quite different from that of history; "and stand to it in the relation in which the romances about Charlemagne stand to his life by Eginhard." Although they are of a strange and fantastic character, yet they contain much that is truly poetical, as, for example, the stories of Rustam. It is quite a fruitless undertaking to attempt to reconcile these dynasties with those of Assyria, or Media and Persia, from Caiumarrath, the first man, down to the king corresponding with Darius Codomannus; I will leave it to others to speculate upon them. Those who have made the attempt, have always attached too much weight to the history of Ctesias. The fantastic distortions of history extend even to Alexander, whom they describe as a half-brother of Darius, and whom the queen is said to have represented to Philip as her son; so that, if Philip's son

had obtained the dominion, a family half Persian would have been thought to have ascended the throne. The Egyptians had a similar story about Alexander, as we learn from an Alexandrine popular work, which, from a Latin translation, has been turned into modern Greek. According to it, King Nectanebo of Egypt was a magician, who transferred himself to Macedonia, and there became the father of Alexander, who is accordingly regarded as an Egyptian. Thus conquered nations endeavoured to show that the conqueror was one of themselves.

The succession of the kings, such as it is given by Herodotus, may unhesitatingly be taken as certain and historical, and if contradictions appear to occur in the "Persians" of Aeschylus, where the succession is different, this is indeed surprising, but cannot affect the credibility of Herodotus, and we must follow him. I am satisfied on this point by the Babylonian Canon in Ptolemy, in which all the kings are mentioned, with the dates of their reigns, and in the reign of each are recorded the eclipses of the sun and moon with their exact dates, which can still be identified by astronomical calculations. The succession of the Persian kings from the time of Cyrus, therefore, is perfectly well established; but in regard to the history of the first kings, the case is different, especially in regard to Cyrus and his conquests, for I am by no means inclined to consider them as historical. This much only is certain, that Cyrus extended his kingdom, and subdued all nations from the Hellespont to the Oxus, nay, as far as the frontiers of Arabia and Egypt, even to Pelusium. This is a fact which cannot be doubted.

The empire of the Medes, then, had passed over into the hands of Cyrus: this expression is quite peculiar to, and common among the Greeks, and is also applied to Alexander and the Macedonians. The Persians, who had originally been a very free people, even in their relation to their kings, now gradually began to submit to Oriental despotism, and thus entered the condition of the other nations which lived in a state of servile dependence. This bears the greatest resemblance to the condition of the German tribes after the migration of nations. The Franks were extremely free; their kings belonged indeed to a certain ruling family, but were, nevertheless, elected. But

when they dwelt scattered in Gaul, when the king levied a tribute on the provincials for his table, and when he received large sums and estates as presents, the free-born Franks were eager to satisfy the king's demands for his table in the same manner as his subject people; and thus there arose a condition of dependence among the Franks which coexisted along with their legal freedom. The same also occurs in the case of the Norman barons, who were quite free in their relation to the kings, but became dependent through the fiefs which they received from them. Such was the case with the Persians; they were, on the whole, a free people; and the φυλὴ of the Pasargadae, to which the Achaemenidae belonged as a γένος, were the ruling tribes among them; they were free like the Dorians. But as the kings, through their sovereignty, acquired great power, as they had to dispose of satrapies, and possessed an army consisting of all the subject nations, they could treat the Persians like their other subjects, and thus it came to pass, that at last the Persians lost all their freedom.

When, in the East, one dynasty, which, like the Median, ruled over all other nations, was overpowered, all the property which it had possessed, all its provinces, etc., passed over into the hands of the new masters. Such was the case here also. The Assyrians and all the nations that were dependent on, and conquered by them, obeyed the Medes. When the Medes were overthrown, all those nations, as a matter of course, remained under the dominion of Cyrus. But Babylon had been independent of Media, and was, therefore, subjugated by him, not without great exertions; when he commenced the war with the Lydians, he was not yet master of Babylon. The fact that Syria was then dependent on Babylon may be inferred from the circumstance, that the Tyrians not long before the reign of Cyrus, after an internal revolution, in consequence of which suffetes had taken the place of the ancient dynasty of the kings, sent to the government of Babylon to request that a prince should be sent to rule over them. This we see from the highly important fragments of the history of Tyre in Josephus. It is clear that the kings of Babylon had compelled the family of the Tyrian princes to live with them in their city and to be at their

disposal, that they might always be able, in case of the reigning king at Tyre exciting their mistrust, to send a pretender to the crown accompanied by Babylonian troops. Now if Tyre was in this relation of dependence, there can be no question that the whole of Syria, Damascus, Hemath, and all the intermediate countries and provinces were in the same condition of dependence.

According to the account of Herodotus, Crœsus commenced the war against Cyrus, "by attacking the Cappadocian Syrians." It has often happened at a critical moment, that he who is threatened by a powerful enemy, and is wavering in the uneasy expectation of his approaching fate, fancies that he would only afford greater advantages to his powerful rival by awaiting his attack, and sees his only safety in anticipating him, and making the attack himself; and such also was the case of Crœsus. Herodotus' account of the course of the war has the strongest marks of a popular tradition, and is in itself improbable; *e. g.*, the statement that the Lydians, after the loss of a battle against the Persians, thought they would arrange matters very comfortably, return home, and prepare themselves better. Thereupon, it is said, the old army was disbanded; but Cyrus suddenly penetrated through Cappadocia and Phrygia into Lydia, and unexpectedly appeared before Sardis, ere Croesus could advance again and assemble a new army. These are tales which are worthy of a poetical legend, and suited to it: "the splendid stories in Herodotus of the recollection of Solon's warning, and how a miracle of Apollo saved the life of Croesus, were assuredly not invented by him." But we must confine ourselves to assuming as certain and as historical, that Croesus lost a battle, that Cyrus advanced to Sardis, that its citadel fell, and the city was taken; and that for many a year afterwards Croesus lived at the court of the conqueror. Even Cambyses respected him as a fallen prince, and often consulted him on account of his wisdom. According to a genuine Oriental mode of thinking, he submitted to his destiny with a belief in its fatal necessity, and was a faithful servant of his master.—"The year of the taking of Sardis is important for ancient chronology; it is known to us pretty accurately from the Parian

marble, according to which it belongs to Olymp. 59, 2, that is the year 205 of the Nabonassarian era, or B.C. 543. Hieronymus and Eusebius give a wrong year.

The conquest of Sardis and Lydia was at the same time accompanied by that of the other nations of Asia Minor, of the Mysians, Phrygians, and Paphlagonians, who had no other thought but to obey the ruler whom fate had given them. The Greeks of the Ionian, Aeolian and Dorian cities, however, felt differently. They, like the free Carians and Lycians—the latter had not been subject to Croesus—were resolved to defend their freedom against the new conqueror. They may have relied on the great distance of the capital of his empire, and thought that they should be better able to assert their independence against so distant an enemy, than against the neighbouring Lydians, who could bring their whole power to bear upon them. But they were disappointed in their expectations; one Greek city after another was obliged to submit after an heroic defence; and some of them experienced the terrors of an Asiatic conquest, with all its barbarity and cruelty. "The Phocaeans quitted their country and founded Velia. The other cities retained their autonomy, and were only obliged to pay a δασμός; they remained flourishing and wealthy, but the truly free spirit of Greeks obviously disappeared under the Persian rule."

Cyrus thus subjugated more of Asia Minor than Croesus had possessed. Lycia also was overpowered by him; the King of Cilicia recognised his supremacy, and thus became one of the vassals of the king of kings. The Lydians afterwards tried to cast off the Persian yoke, and to recover their ancient independence; but their undertaking failed, and the yoke only became harder and heavier. "Their arms were taken from them, and they were compelled to limit their attention to the augmentation of their prosperity. But whenever this is the only thing a nation has to attend to, all is lost. What Herodotus relates about the change in their manners, is nothing but the result of that decree."

After this Cyrus undertook the subjugation of Babylon. "The great war between Babylon and Egypt, which Berosus

mentions under the form of a revolt of the satrap of Egypt and Syria, belongs to the end of the reign of Nabopolassar. Nebucadnezar had been sent by his father against the Egyptians, and while he confined them within their boundaries, Nabopolassar died, and the succession was disputed; but when Nebucadnezar speedily returned to Babylon, his right was acknowledged (B. C. 606). Nabopolassar had reigned twenty-one years," and Nebucadnezar then occupied the throne for forty-three years, which admirably agrees with the account of the Scriptures. In the eighteenth year of his reign he destroyed Jerusalem.

The years of the reigns of Nabopolassar, Nebucadnezar and the other kings of Babylon down to its conquest by Cyrus, are perfectly well known; and I place more confidence in their chronology than in that of the Roman emperors during the third century, where, with good reason, one may be in doubt in regard to whole years.[2] As we have here precise statements, the destruction of Jerusalem can be accurately fixed, for we can determine the period from Joiachim to Evil-Merodach; but the history of Nebucadnezar and the destruction of Jerusalem, to-

[2] It is not clear how Niebuhr understood the Babylonian chronology. In the Lectures of 1826, he assumed 122 years from Nabonassar to Nabopolassar, and 87 years from the commencement of the reign of the latter down to Cyrus, and this makes the calculation clear. But in 1829 and in the Dissertation on Eusebius, he assumes 103 years till Nabopolassar, and 66 from his death down to Cyrus, so that the reign of Nabopolassar would comprise 40 years instead of the 21 which are mentioned in all the versions of the Canon. As according to the second calculation the destruction of Nineveh falls between the seventeenth and twentieth year of Nabopolassar (comp. above, p. 27, foll.), we might believe that Niebuhr supposed the Canon and Berosus to have dated a new beginning of his government from this point as the moment at which Nabopolassar's government became entirely independent; so that there would be a double reign, the distinction of which was neglected by the copyists of the Canon. Hence nineteen years would have dropped out, in the versions of the Canon, which have 209 years down to the time of Cyrus, and they were arbitrarily made up. But that Niebuhr had not come to any definite conclusions respecting this chronology, is clear from p. 64, note 2, where he identifies Mardokempad with Merodach-Baladan; whereas, according to the calculation adopted in 1826, the reign of the former altogether precedes that of Sanherib.—ED.

gether with the fall of the Jewish empire, belong, according to the plan of Trogus which we follow, to the time when the Jews re-appear under the Macedonians, and I shall have to speak of these events in a subsequent Lecture.

Nebucadnezar continued the war against the Egyptians and Phoenicians, and by his exploits in those mighty wars he acquired a great reputation, which in the East is imperishable. When the Greeks began to obtain information about Eastern affairs, they even exaggerated the fame of his achievements; and erroneously transferred to him all the obscure accounts of expeditions from the East to the distant West in Africa and Spain. But of this not a trace is to be found in the Oriental authorities: Berosus says nothing of this, "any more than Abydenus,"[3] and there is no reason whatever for ascribing to him those expeditions, as Megasthenes has done. The latter referred to him those mysterious tales, which may possibly belong to the ancient expeditions of the Egyptians to the distant West. Such obscure enterprises are described in the Punic accounts as undertakings of Melkarth (Hercules); but when the Greeks heard of them, they connected with them the story of the expedition of their own Heracles to Iberia, describing him as having reached the Alps and opened passages through them, while their own ancient and simple Ἡράκλεια confined itself to the twelve labours. The other features are additions, the incorporation of which from foreign traditions can easily be proved.[4]

After the death of Nebucadnezar, his son Evil-Merodach, who is also mentioned in Scripture, ascended the throne; a tyrant who reigned only two years. In the dynasty of Nabopolassar, we see the same peculiarity which characterizes all Eastern dynasties: they begin to decay as soon as they have been raised

[3] In his Essay on Eusebius, even in the 2d edition (*Klein. Schrift.*, vol. i., p. 187, note 4), Niebuhr does not know where to place the name Abydenus. In the meantime, however, he found it in a Greek inscription from Nubia, and therefore supposed that the historian was an Egyptian. Compare Niebuhr's Explanations of the Inscriptions in Gan, *Neuentdeckte Denkmäler von Nubien;* Inschrift. v. Gartass, No. 45.—Ed.

[4] This and the preceding paragraph have been transferred to this place from Lecture VIII.—Ed.

to high prosperity by the personal character of a great ruler. When in the East a great prince has reigned for a long time, this is the case almost without exception, and inevitably the epoch which precedes the weakness and the decay of the state; if the prince lives to an old age, his generals and governors during his later years acquire great authority, and form a power in the state. Thus the empire of the Mongols fell into a state of dissolution after the long government of Aurengzebe: under him the immense empire extended from the Ganges to the Oxus; but scarcely had he closed his eyes, when his successors became powerless, their governors made themselves independent, and revolutions broke out everywhere without end. Such a state of weakness evidently commenced at Babylon, after Nebucadnezar's long reign of 43 years. When his son Evil-Merodach, on account of his tyranny and cruelty had been overthrown by his brother-in-law, Neriglissor, the latter reigned for four years, and was succeeded by Labrossoarchod, a boy, who reigned only a few months, for his satraps and nobles, who would not allow his dynasty to establish itself, deposed and strangled him, because, it is said, the boy had already shown symptoms of a tyrannical disposition. After him a Babylonian, Nabonnedus, was raised to the throne, though he had no claim to it, and reigned for 17 years, until Cyrus took Babylon, and overthrew the Babylonian empire. This is no doubt the same person, whom Herodotus calls Labynetus, and whom, by a very pardonable mistake, he considers to be a son of Nebucadnezar, whom he also calls Labynetus; for Nitocris, the wife of Labynetus, is as we have seen above, no other than Amuhia or Aroite. But in our account Nabonnedus is in no way connected with Nebucadnezar; since even if he had been a natural son, Berosus would not have passed over his descent in silence.

Many of the gigantic buildings which distinguished Babylon were erected during this latter period under Nebucadnezar; and he certainly possessed sufficient power to raise them. Even his successors ruled over a kingdom with the wealth of which no modern European kingdom can compare itself, unless it be in manufactures and large capital. All Babylonia to the north of Mesopotamia, the beginning of the Arabian desert, and the

mouth of the Euphrates in the south, is a country, the cultivation of which requires indeed more care than Egypt, but which in regard to fertility and the extent of fertile land, far surpasses it; and it is, moreover, not dependent upon such accidents as Egypt is. For if there happens to be no rain in the mountains of Abyssinia, and the Nile cannot properly overflow its banks, Egypt is parched up, and famine, of which often thousands perish, spreads over the land. The rivers of Babylonia do not overflow the country, "being restrained by large embankments," but they regularly rise in spring and summer, "when the snow in the Armenian mountains is melting," which happens just at the season when there is no rain, and when irrigation is very necessary for those regions; and as the canals which have been made in all directions, become filled with water, they furnish an excellent means of irrigating and fertilizing the country. Babylon thus, it is true, required the greatest industry, and a countless number of men were employed; but their labour was amply rewarded. Independent of the rising rivers in spring and summer, the country had much rain in winter. Agriculture therefore could be carried on in Babylonia even during the season when the heat of the sun is most powerful; and the consequence was that it had three harvests of all kinds of fruits and plants in suitable alternation. Nay, I really believe that Herodotus does not exaggerate when he relates, that the Persian kings derived a third of all their revenues from Babylonia. The oppression under which the country suffered must have been extremely great, as the Babylonians so often revolted; and when a country of such great extent and of such peculiar fertility as Babylonia paid one-third, or perhaps the half of its produce, the revenue must have been immense.

LECTURE XII.

THE country beyond Babylon is an extensive plain, and consists of the alluvial soil of the rivers. But notwithstanding its

marshy nature, the country is blessed with palms which there thrive extremely well; they constituted the principal wealth and blessing of ancient Babylonia; they gave it an advantage over Egypt, and even now palms grow there in abundance. Egypt has indeed palms, but the noble date-bearing palm does not grow there; the country produces palms only here and there; they serve as ornaments, but do not grow in such quantities as to furnish a means of sustenance, as they do in Babylonia, for the soil is not so fit for them. "Even at the present day, the palm tree furnishes the chief part of the people's food; and in former times it also afforded clothing and fuel. Other trees do not exist; and this circumstance had great influence upon the whole mode of life, and especially upon the architecture, of the Babylonians." Their country produced everything that Egypt possessed, and had the additional advantage of constant irrigation, and of a triple harvest. In the few districts which are still cultivated the productiveness is the same.

At the time when Cyrus approached, Nabonnedus was king of Babylon. According to the genuine Babylonian history, he endeavoured to defend his kingdom by meeting the enemy in the open field, but lost the battle, and was obliged to retreat to Borsippa, the Chaldaean Benares, the city in which the Chaldaeans had their most revered objects of religion, and where they cultivated their science. Being blockaded in that city, he capitulated; his life was spared, his liberty was secured to him, and he received for his future maintenance, a place of residence and estates, "forming a small principality in Carmania;" for although the Persians in their conquests often acted with merciless cruelty, yet they were mild towards princes and nobles. If the conqueror was not faithless, it often happened that conquered princes received for their personal use, rich appanages. In regard to the manner in which Babylon was taken by Cyrus, the account of Berosus in Josephus gives us no information, nor do we learn anything from the additions that have recently been made to the Chronicle of Eusebius from its Armenian translation. Accordingly, we do not know, how far the account of Berosus agreed with that of Herodotus, that Cyrus dug a new bed for the river Euphrates, and that thus the Persians approached

Babylon by the dried-up bed of the river. Babylon occupied both banks of the Euphrates, and formed a large square; whether it was a perfect square or not, cannot be said with certainty, though it seems to have been nearly perfect. The Euphrates flowed through the midst of it, and along its banks there were walls with gates facing the river, so that the city was surrounded by a triple wall. An obscure allusion in Berosus leaves it doubtful, whether the old town was surrounded by a new town. Now according to the account of Herodotus, Cyrus took the city by turning the course of the Euphrates; and such an undertaking was by no means impossible. It is indeed difficult to understand this in the case of a river which has not much fall; but incomprehensibility is one thing, and impossibility a very different thing. The immense numbers of an eastern army almost compensate for the difficulty of the undertaking; he may have commanded hundreds of thousands to dig, and a canal might be completed very soon, as the Euphrates flows very slowly, and on almost level ground. But it is also possible that this account of the taking of Babylon is only one of the popular traditions, which, as I have already remarked, Herodotus took up and related in a very plausible manner. The principal and most important fact, however, is that Babylon came under the dominion of the Persians in the first year of the sixtieth Olympiad, or the year 208 of the Nabonassarian era. The chronology of this period can be made out with tolerable accuracy; and this is one of the principal epochs in ancient chronology; because here the history of Persia becomes authentically connected with that of Babylon, through the canon of the Babylonians; and because at the same time there arises a direct relation between Upper Asia and Greece, by the fact that the Greek cities of Asia Minor fell into the hands of the Persian kings.

The conquest of Babylon must have been followed by the subjugation of the whole country which belonged to Babylon, and consequently also by that of Syria and Palestine. The remark of Jeremiah that Nebucadnezar left a governor behind in Judea, can only be a proof, that the kings of Babylon not only plundered and ravaged the country and carried off its inhabitants, but that those conquered countries remained under

the Babylonian supremacy. From Ezra, however, we see that Cyrus, in the very first year of his reign, that is, the first year in which he was king of Babylon, made regulations concerning Palestine. There was no necessity whatever for subduing those distant countries, for they came into his hands as possessions of Babylon; and what is correct in the case of such distant countries, probably applies to Syria also. There can be no doubt that Syria stood in the same relation to Babylon, being probably connected with it through Tadmor or Palmyra; and as I have already mentioned, the Tyrians solicited the Babylonians to send them a king, just as Pontus received its king from Rome. I repeat that there was no necessity for separately subduing those countries, and I direct your attention particularly to these circumstances, because you will not find them anywhere correctly represented: in books on ancient history, they are either entirely passed over, or touched upon only in an obscure manner. "The Phoenicians retained their kings, probably paid no tribute, and obeyed the king's commands only when he wanted them to assist him with their navy."

Cyrus had thus destroyed three empires, and out of them formed the great Persian empire, which extended from the river Oxus to the frontiers of Egypt, embracing Lydia and Asia Minor, no doubt, as far as the mountains of the Afghans, which separate Chorassan from India. The accounts in Herodotus and Ctesias now differ so widely from each other, that were it not for the identity of the chief personages, no resemblance could be discovered, and we should believe them to refer to two different periods. Both indeed mention an expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetae; but Ctesias assigns it to an earlier date, describes Cyrus as returning victorious, and as having died afterwards during an expedition against a nation dwelling on the frontiers of India; whereas according to Herodotus, Cyrus fell in the war against the Massagetae. I really do not know whom to follow; for I am by no means inclined to reject the Persian histories of Ctesias as unconditionally as I reject his Babylonian and Assyrian histories. If he was at all anxious to learn, he had it in his power to collect very good information on the history of Persia; for he lived many years at the court

of the Persian kings, and the Persians possessed historical works. Moreover, for the subsequent history from the time of Darius, Ctesias is the recognised authority, and no one refuses to believe him.

According to the account of Herodotus, the Massagetae were governed by a Queen Tomyris. The description which Herodotus gives of these Massagetae or Sacae is, that they were a true Mongol or Tartar race, just as much as the Scythians who then chiefly occupied the southern part of Europe, belonged to the Mongols. They were nomades occupying themselves with the chase, and living mostly on horseback like the Tartars, among whom the children live on horseback from their earliest infancy, and whose constant companion is the horse. Agriculture is not altogether neglected; but the flock forms the basis of their existence and their wealth, and their most essential occupation is the breeding of cattle. The Massagetae were a rude nation of the same kind as the Tartars. The description which Herodotus gives of them is, like all his descriptions of nations, unrivalled, and enables us still to recognise the people very accurately. His statement, that copper and gold were common among them, and that iron and silver were unknown to them, has formerly been censured; but it is quite correct, and is confirmed by the nature of their country. Iron is so rare in those countries that, as Menander[1] relates, the nations on the Oxus with some affectation showed iron to the Roman ambassadors in order to convince them, that they were not altogether without it. The statements of Herodotus are laughed at by men who have indeed some knowledge, but are devoid of judgment. Such a man is Schloezer, who, notwithstanding his want of taste, might have acquired great merit as an historian, had he not at a later period of his life been careless, and by an unfortunate polypragmaty in which he had become involved, given up all exertion. In order to gratify his ambition to become a politician and to obtain influence, he neglected his intellectual acquirements; and being of a lively disposition, he continued to write with great ambition

[1] Menand. p. 380, ed. Bonn.

and presumption. He had a decided aversion to the ancients and everything that is classical, but more especially to Herodotus; and he is altogether a true barbarian. His reputation as a writer of history might have been great and well deserved; but he himself has obscured it. He ridicules Herodotus for his distinct assertion that the North was so rich in gold; but at present the attention of all Europe is directed to the gold mines in the Ural mountain; and we see that Herodotus was perfectly right, and that the Norwegian authors who speak of the abundance of gold among the Persians, and who are likewise despised by Schloezer, were no less right than Herodotus. Those mines have ceased to be worked, or have been forgotten, only in consequence of the barbarous character of the Mongols. The gold of the ancient world came partly from those countries, chiefly from the Ural, and partly from Lydia, Thrace and Macedonia; some also came from the mines of Gaul, some was found on the frontiers of Egypt and Nubia, some in Arabia, and a little was brought, by way of Carthage, from the interior of Africa. The gold which was obtained from these sources in ancient times was so abundant that it was much less precious; and its value as compared with that of silver, was much smaller than at present. The gold stater of Athens, which was worth twenty drachms in antiquity, is at present valued at thirty-two silver drachms. The silver mines of the ancients were in Spain, Africa, Transylvania and Dacia; some gold was already derived from Upper Hungary, which Herodotus calls the country of the Agathyrsi. There were some silver mines also in Armenia. It is properly the province of ancient geography to furnish such surveys as I have here given, and to point out the sources of the products of which we hear in history. Such particulars would form the elements of a perspicuous history of commerce.

But putting aside the war of Cyrus, there can be no doubt of the truth of the statement of Herodotus, that the Massagetae were a nomadic people which inhabited the steppes north of the Oxus. This point has long been a matter of uncertainty. Herodotus mentions the Araxes as the river, beyond which the Massagetae dwelt, and along which they descended into the steppes. This description for a long time misled people, and

gave rise to great misapprehensions, until I explained the matter, and showed its connection in my Treatise on the Geography of Herodotus.[2] Herodotus confounds the Araxes, which forms the northern boundary of Media, with the Jaxartes, which formed the northern frontier of Persia toward Scythia, and with the Oxus which he conceives to flow from west to east, whereas its real course is from east to north-west. But this ought not to mislead us, for if we judge without prejudice, we shall find the strangest confusions of this kind among the ancients; and striking instances of the confusion of rivers are now known. Thus the soldiers of Alexander were greatly mistaken in regard to those same rivers, and considered the Jaxartes, beyond the Oxus, which Herodotus confounds with the Arexes, to be the same as the Tanais. They imagined that it flowed from east to west,[3] and knew that the Tanais flowed from north-east to south-west; they found nomadic tribes on both sides of the Jaxartes, and knew, that the country beyond the Tanais also was occupied by pastoral tribes of the Scythians. Both nations were of the Mongol race, and the Macedonians hastily inferred, that the two rivers must be one and the same, that the Tanais arose high up in the east, and then continuing its course emptied itself in the Palus Maeotis—an error which can easily be accounted for. In a similar manner many strange conclusions have been drawn, and such haste in forming them must not be censured too severely, because it is an error into which we too may fall very easily. I need only remind you of the conclusions which have been drawn in regard to the connection of the river Niger. We, who in many respects look contemptuously upon the ancients, forget that until the time of the great D'Anville, notwithstanding the most express statements, we believed that the Joliba flowed from east to west, and thus unscrupulously marked it in our maps; whereas the maps of Ptolemy are quite correct. It was also supposed that the Niger flowed into the Senegal, and that the latter was the mouth of the Niger; and there are several other

[2] *Klein. Schrift.* i. p. 132, foll. The passage in the text is very confused in the manuscript note, and its restoration is not quite certain.—Ed.

[3] Compare *Klein. Schrift.* i. p. 397.—Ed.

similar errors. Even the excellent Posidonius imagined that the Danubius and Ister were two different rivers, and represented the Danubius as flowing parallel with the Rhine into the Northern Sea, and the Ister as flowing into the Black Sea; in this case the Upper Danube was probably confounded with the Elbe. Voss is the first who introduced sound and rational views into the treatment of ancient geography, and what he has done for this science is invaluable; for he has arranged the masses of this chaos and put to himself the question—what conception did each of the great and celebrated men of antiquity form of the world? and how were his views thereby affected? what views could he have? how did he conceive this or that to be? and what did he think of it? while before his time men proceeded upon the absurd supposition that the ancients possessed our geographical knowledge. As Diodorus states that the Danube flows into the Northern Sea (I shall one day show that he borrowed this from Posidonius), Wesseling is at a loss what to do; he reasons thus: Diodorus assuredly is not so ignorant as not to know that the Ister flows into the Black Sea; Wesseling, therefore, searched for a river, the name of which has some resemblance to Danubius. He found a small river which empties itself into the Garonne, and may thus be said to flow into the Western Sea. This is the Duranius (Dordogne), and Wesseling accordingly imagines that Diodorus instead of the Danube meant Duranius, or Dubis.[4] This is one example of a thousand similar follies, which are published uncontradicted and uncorrected.

According to the account of Herodotus, Cyrus made war upon the Massagetae; their queen, doubtful whether she should cross the river or await the Persians in her own territory, left him the choice either to cross the river or allow her to cross it with her Massagetae. Cyrus, says Herodotus, preferred the former; he quitted his camp and left it together with a great quantity of wine to the Massagetae. When the latter were intoxicated, he suddenly fell upon them, defeated them, made the queen's own

[4] Wesseling on Diod. Sic. v. 25. In the end, however, Wesseling approaches somewhat nearer the truth.—Ed.

son his prisoner, and put him to death (?) But after this the mother in a terrible battle avenged the death of her son, and Cyrus fell, after having previously sent Croesus and Cambyses back to Persia. Nothing can be made of this story. The account of Herodotus about the defeat of the Massagetae by Cyrus, is, as every one must see, a mere romance. But the wars between the Persians and the Scythian, Tartar, and Mongol tribes in the steppes of Central Asia, north of the Jaxartes, are certain and very ancient. They must be as ancient as the countries themselves, and in this light they are viewed by the Eastern nations, who justly date their commencement from the very earliest time; there are wars between Iran and Turan, Djemshid (?) and Afrasiab.[5] Even to this day, the Persians divide Upper Asia into Iran and Turan, the latter being the country of the Mongol tribes. In the time of the Sassanidae, they divided the whole world into Iran and An-Iran (non-Iran), just like the Chinese. In whatever manner Cyrus may have perished (B. C. 531), he was certainly buried at Persepolis,[6] and was succeeded without opposition throughout the whole monarchy by his son Cambyses (B. C. 530). The history of Cambyses, too, is surrounded by poetical legends. The years of his reign are indeed well established, but the accounts of his exploits are not historical; the real and true history of Persia does not begin till after his reign.[7] According to all accounts his government was remarkable for two things, the conquest of Egypt, and the execution of his brother; as to the latter, Herodotus and Ctesias essentially agree

[5] "The invasions of the Scythians, to whom Herodotus assigns the country about the Tanais, may have come from Turan."—1826.

[6] "The Persian name of Persepolis was probably Pasargadae. I believe that the most simple explanation of Pasargadae is, that it is the same as Posargoda, 'children,' or 'sons of God,' which is more natural than to connect it with Gede, 'a camp' (?). It must, however, be observed that this etymology is modern Persian, and therefore not quite certain."

[7] "From the conquest of Egypt down to the time when Herodotus visited it, about eighty years had elapsed; and when he wrote his history, at the utmost a hundred years. And yet everything has the appearance of fable, just as in Lydia; it is hardly credible, how quickly, in oral tradition, accounts are changed, nay, even disappear."—1826.

with each other, in stating that the murder of his brother led to the usurpation of the Magi, so that the government again came into the hands of the Medes, until the Persians recovered their courage, and threw off the yoke.

LECTURE XIII.

It is somewhat difficult to restore the real Persian name of Cambyses and to trace its etymology, while, on the other hand, it is certain that the name Cyrus contains the Persian word for "sun," which the Hebrews call Coresh, and for which the modern Persian word is Churshid. Olymp. 62, 2 is mentioned as the year in which Cyrus died, and the third year of Olymp. 62 is regarded as the first year of the reign of Cambyses; for it must always be observed, that in the Eastern dynasties the year in which a king ascends the throne is not taken into account, but is added to the reign of his predecessor, and the first year of a king is always the one at the beginning of which he is in possession of the throne. This mode of reckoning, according to the years of a king's reign, is the ancient style throughout the East, and was as universal a method of marking the date of an event, as it was among the Greeks and Romans to indicate it by the name of the archon or the consuls. The same custom remained even under the Macedonian dynasty; and it was not till a very late period that it became customary to employ a continuous era, and this was done in the West at an earlier time than in the East. Among the Asiatic nations we have no trace of an era previous to that of Nabonassar and the Seleucidae; that of Nabonassar is probably the only one that was used from an early period, although it is not impossible that it, too, may have been fixed at a later time by Babylonian astronomers, for the purpose of having a basis for their calculations. Subsequently, the era of the Seleucidae became so prevalent in all Asia, that even now it is employed by the Eastern Christians. It became established

very early, and was adopted under the Parthians and the Sassanidae—at least by their subjects. The earliest mention of the era of the Seleucidae having been employed occurs in the first book of Maccabees, the composition of which belongs to about the year B.C. 130, or the period between the years 620 and 625 after the building of Rome. Accordingly, what I have said of the year of the succession must be observed throughout the whole of chronology; but the beginning of the new year makes a difference in different countries; in Persia it must be ascertained whether a prince ascends the throne before the 20th of March; in Egypt the beginning of a new year at first varied, but afterwards it was fixed to be on the 29th of August.

We have no tradition as to the manner in which the first years of Cambyses' reign were spent. From the account of Herodotus, we might believe that he undertook his expedition into Egypt immediately after his accession; but this is irreconcileable with chronological statement from Egyptian sources (Manetho), which place the conquest of Egypt in Olymp. 63, 3; they show that the first years of his reign must have passed away without any such undertaking. The occasion of his expedition against Egypt has been the subject of poetry among both Persians and Egyptians, and each have explained it in a different way; but the true explanation is simple and obvious; he felt strong enough to undertake the conquest of Egypt. If we value the advantages of the time in which we live, in regard to nations and countries, one of them certainly is this—that such an attack without provocation would, in Europe, be revolting, nay, even a matter of impossibility; in Asia, as in India, on the contrary, rulers, when they had the power, never scrupled to attack others without any cause; and it is scarcely possible to enumerate three Asiatic princes, to whom the power of conquering has not been a sufficient ground for attacking their neighbours. What the Persians and Egyptians have related concerning the occasion of the war, therefore, are mere fictions. He who lectures on any subject feels the necessity, if he is conscientious, of bringing it vividly before the minds of his hearers; hence general reflections are sometimes useful, especially if they are confirmed by facts or examples. We have here another

example of the manner in which conquered nations endeavour to console themselves for their subjugation by a foreign enemy, by placing the conqueror in a personal relation to themselves; for the Egyptians maintained that a daughter of Apries, the lawful descendant of Psammis, had been married to Cyrus, and that, consequently, Cambyses was her son, and heir of the kingdom of Egypt. Whether this was altogether a fiction, or whether there was some historical ground for it, it is impossible to say. The Persians, also, had a fable of this Egyptian princess, for they related that Cyrus demanded the daughter of Amasis, and that the latter sent him the daughter of the deposed Apries, pretending that she was his own; for he knew that the Persians would not treat an Egyptian woman as a legitimate wife, but only as a concubine. One account says, that he sent her to Cyrus, and another that he sent her to Cambyses; but both agree in stating that she provoked the anger of Cambyses against Egypt. According to the one story, Cambyses was the son of a Persian woman, and the Egyptian was preferred to her by Cyrus; the other, which represents the daughter of Apries as the wife of Cambyses, states that she went to Cambyses and disclosed to him how deceitfully the Egyptians had acted towards him, and that she was the daughter of Apries. This, it is said, roused the anger of Cambyses against Egypt. In short, we here have a variety of phases of the same story, all of which are probably mere fictions.[1]

Before we relate the expedition of Cambyses into Egypt, and explain the conquest of that country, we must go back to the time when we found the Pharaoh Necho in conflict with Babylon, when Necho, after having defeated King Josiah near Megiddo and taken Jerusualem, was himself routed at Carchemish by Nebucadnezar, and found it advisable to confine himself to Egypt.

The government of Necho appears, in Herodotus, as powerful and enterprising. He built a fleet in the Mediterranean and in the Arabian gulf, and this building of a fleet is connected with

[1] The two following paragraphs are transferred to this place from the end of Lecture XII.—Ed.

an undertaking, respecting the historical truth of which there can be no doubt. I allude to the fact, that he attempted to connect the Red Sea with the Mediterranean by a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea. This great work he commenced, but did not carry it out. There are proofs that Necho turned his attention to various objects; this is also clear from his attempt to circumnavigate Africa by means of the Phoenicians. I readily admit the objections to the accomplishment of such a scheme; and the account of it which has come down to us, has something very improbable in it; but this much is certain beyond a doubt, that the plan was undertaken; and whether it succeeded or not, it serves to prove that Necho endeavoured to procure for Egypt a great navy and an extensive commerce. His undertakings were made on a grand scale. No man in or out of Egypt at that time conceived that Africa extended so far south; there can be no doubt that the Carthaginians were acquainted with the coast of Guinea, and knew that it extended eastward, and as, on the opposite side, Zanguebar runs in a south-western direction, nothing was more natural than to infer that Africa had no greater breadth than from the Mediterranean to Guinea. In a similar manner, after the discovery of America, it was firmly believed that its circumnavigation must be possible within the tropics, and that it did not extend so far towards the south-pole.

The conquests of Nebucadnezar belong to the last years of the reign of Necho, and still more to the reign of his successor, Psammis[2] (B. C. 602—596). Psammis was succeeded by Apries (B. C. 595), the last descendant of Psammetichus, and the last heir of the political views which had been established by his government and were so suitable to it, though by no means favourably viewed by his people, and especially by the military caste.

[2] "The P in Psammis, Psammetichus, etc., is the Egyptian article; so likewise in Pharaoh=Pi-Urô, *the* king, of which a foreign pronunciation has made Pharaoh." (In two MSS. we here find these words added, "under whom Nineveh was destroyed." What this means, I am unable to say. The destruction of Jerusalem cannot be meant, for chronological reasons.—ED.)

Apries reigned for a period of twenty-five years with great power and splendor. He was the first of the Egyptian kings that undertook an expedition against the Greek colony of Cyrene, which was flourishing and wealthy enough to provoke the ruler of Egypt, and yet not strong enough to deter him from his undertaking. But as the Cynenaeans were supported by the Libyans who had formerly been under the dominion of Egypt, and bore an old grudge against their former masters, Cyrene and the other Greeks defended themselves successfully; and the army of Apries revolted. The army consisted of the military caste, and the rebellion was the consequence of the ill-feeling subsisting between the family of Psammetichus and that caste. They deposed Apries, and raised Amasis, a man of humble origin, to the throne. It is evident from this, that for some time a state of confusion had prevailed similar to that in India, when the Mahrattas rose; for the Mahrattas, who formed a distinct people, and had come from the mountains of the Deccan, belonged to the third caste; but when they established an empire, they ruled over the first and second castes. Afterwards the Brahmins, by their skill and prudence, succeeded in gaining the upper-hand and recovering the supreme power. In Egypt, we see the same occurrence and changes as among the Indians, the other great nation that is divided into castes. "The higher castes which have long been in the possession of power, sink, and those who have the spirit and boldness obtain power." Had the warriors in their rebellion raised one of their own body to the throne, it would have been the result of the exasperation of the caste against the ruler who had offended them; but it would still have been in accordance with the ancient spirit of castes. The idea of caste, however, had been completely shaken, and the priests alone had to some extent preserved their ancient pre-eminence, as in fact they did even in the reign of the Ptolemies. But all the others were practically on a footing of equality, and the precedence of the military caste was, in fact, no longer acknowledged by the nation; matters had gone so far, that a man of an inferior caste was raised to the throne. Amasis was popular, and a man of a cheerful temperament, so that the soldiers were attached to him; he seems to have been an en-

terprising prince; and to have been suited to the circumstances of the time.

On receiving the news of the insurrection of his army, which marched back to Egypt, Apries called to arms his Ionians and Carians (the ἐπίκουροι), and all those Egyptians who were willing to serve under him as volunteers. The strangers stood to the native soldiers in the same relations as the mercenaries to the old Mahrattas during the time of the last Mahratta princes. These princes might easily have raised an army of 80,000 men, but they kept their own people in subjection by means of a small band of European mercenaries, English half-castes born in India, and Afghano-Mohammedan soldiers. This mode of tactics often occurs in the ancient times of Eastern despotism; and it was for this reason that subsequently the Greeks were very welcome to the Persians. The kings, in general, trusted foreign soldiers much more than their own subjects; as the thought of expelling them from their throne could not so readily occur to the former. Amasis now marched against Apries, but did not act like Jehu, but honestly sent back the man whom Apries had deputed to him, and informed him that he was coming with his army. Apries went to meet him, and a pitched battle was fought, in which the foreigners were cut to pieces and almost annihilated.

The government of Amasis, although the foreigners remained in the country, seems to have been much more national. The intercourse with Greece was opened and continued, and the king still kept an army of strangers; yet in all essential points he seems to have taken his stand upon the Egyptian institutions and opinions more than his predecessors.

Apries was now taken prisoner, and having been a good natured man, he was at first treated by Amasis, who took up his residence at Sais, with humanity and mildness; but the leaders in the rebellion fearing lest the intimacy between their former and their present master might lead to their own punishment, insisted upon the death of Apries. Amasis was obliged to give him up; his enemies murdered him, and then, according to a genuine Oriental custom, honoured him with a magnificent royal burial by the side of his ancestors.

Of all the monuments of Sais, not a trace is now extant.

That the houses of the city have disappeared, cannot be wondered at, since most of them were made of reeds and clay. When in the East a town is abandoned, the houses of which consist for the most part of unburnt bricks, they crumble away in a short time, and leave no trace, except in Nubia and Babylonia, where the houses, in order to preserve them, were covered with a coat of asphalt, and were thus secured against the influence of moisture. For it is well known that nothing excludes moisture so effectually as asphalt; and bricks covered with it become stronger and stronger, and are as durable as if they had been burnt. Sais has indeed entirely disappeared, but when Egypt shall one day be governed by Europeans, and systematic researches are made, a few things may yet be found. The complete disappearance of Sais may be accounted for by the fact, that in a change of government in the East, the newly rising capitals always swallowed up the old ones, which were situated in the vicinity: the buildings were taken down, and new ones were constructed out of the old materials. Thus Ctesiphon swallowed up Babylon, and Ctesiphon in its turn was swallowed up by Bagdad; and in this manner, I believe, Alexandria was the ruin of Sais, for all its buildings were demolished, and the stones and all moveable materials were carried to Alexandria. In this manner it is not impossible that the great obelisks, which were carried from Alexandria to Rome, may at first have stood at Thebes, and afterwards at Sais; just as there existed at Sais very curious chapels constructed out of one stone, which had been conveyed thither with the most enormous labour and exertion, and then been set up there.

Apries is the Pharaoh whom the prophet Jeremiah (xliv. 30) calls Pharaoh-Hophra, and who in the Septuagint is called Ουαφρης, which must be pronounced Waphris, for the Septuagint must be read according to the modern Greek pronunciation, and the accent ought to be attended to. This belongs to the nature of the Alexandrine dialect, upon which the Septuagint is entirely based, and which has essentially the modern Greek pronunciation. The case of the classical writers is different. It must however be observed, that the last chapters of Jeremiah are not printed in the order in which they were originally written; and

there can be no doubt that chapters have also been added at the end of other Books of the Old Testament, in order to give them a suitable conclusion; such chapters originally stood by themselves and unconnected with any others, and by appending them to other books, they received a fixed place. Such additions occur at the end of the Proverbs, of the Books of Judges, of Isaiah, and others. It is not difficult to perceive the addition, for in chapter xliv. Jeremiah is speaking of our Pharaoh; he says, that the Jews who had gone to Egypt, ought to return to Palestine, for that the Lord would deliver up Pharaoh-Hophra into the hands of his enemies—and then he goes on to speak of Necho and Nebucadnezar. There is accordingly no connection between these chapters; the latter ones have been appended at a later time, otherwise Hophra would have been put before Necho. In explaining such things, we must not overlook the rabbinical tradition about the revisal of the Scriptures by the Great Synagogue. It is quite certain that there is some foundation for it, and Eichhorn has treated it much too lightly; it is a very ancient tradition, and has a very significant meaning.—The enemy of Hophra alluded to by Jeremiah is Amasis, and not the king of Babylon, as Grotius correctly observes. Grotius' commentary on the Scriptures is one of those works that may be called patterns and masterpieces; and deserves to be recommended to every scholar as much as the works of Scaliger and Lambinus.

Amasis reigned upwards of forty years (from B. C. 570), and his reign was great and brilliant; he subdued Cyprus, raised a fleet, and was in active intercourse with the Greeks.[3] But how far, and under what circumstances, he completed the conquest of Cyprus, is altogether unknown, the fact being only cursorily noticed by Herodotus. This age, says the historian, was a time of the greatest prosperity for Egypt; this must be understood as applying only to the last period of decay under Psammetichus and his successors; for the Egypt of that time, when compared with the empire of Thebes, was as small or even smaller than

[3] "In Malta there are traces of its having once been conquered by the Egyptians; and this cannot have taken place at any other time than in the reign of Amasis."—1826.

the Persia of Shah Abbas, compared with that of Cyrus and Darius; or stood to it in a similar relation as the empire of Chosru Nushirwan stood to that of Darius Hystaspis. "But by the side of Egypt, there was rising a more vigorous and formidable empire, and it was lucky for Amasis that he died before the outbreak of the war." He was succeeded by his son, Psammenitus (B. C. 526), on whom Cambyses waged war.

The expedition of Cambyses was facilitated by the faithlessness of Phanes of Halicarnassus, a runaway Greek mercenary, who being offended by the Egyptian king, deserted to the Persians, and gave them advice as to the point where they should enter Egypt. The Persians were accompanied by a fleet, for Phoenician ships were now at their disposal, and all the maritime towns of the southern coast of Asia Minor; a great portion of the Ionians, etc., were obliged to furnish ships; and the Egyptian fleet, which may not have been large under Amasis, or may afterwards have fallen into decay, was not able to offer any resistance. The land army marched through the desert, which, in the neighbourhood of the coast, is not very dangerous, if those who pass through it are well provided with water. Bonaparte also passed through that desert on his march to Syria, and the great host of Kapudan Pashah, whom Kleber defeated near Heliopolis, had passed through the Egyptian desert with large trains.[4] But the Egyptians offered resistance near Pelusium, the frontier town, where a decisive battle was fought, in which the Egyptian auxiliaries were entirely cut to pieces. There can be no doubt that the superiority of the Persian cavalry decided the day, for that of the Egyptians was poor and insignificant, in consequence, as is generally believed, of the numerous canals by which the country was intersected; but Egypt is altogether a country unsuited to the breeding of horses. The horses of

[4] "The march of Cambyses through the desert, throws some light upon the ethnology of the time. There is mention of an Arab king in the country, which, according to the Jewish geography, is called the coast of the Philistines. These Arabs can be no other than the Edomites, who had spread over the Jewish mountains as far as Hebron. Even St. Jerome states, that they spoke Arabic; the dialect of the Canaanites was quite different from theirs."—1826.

the desert are excellent, but the soil of Egypt Proper is too soft and marshy for horses; their hoofs are spoiled in it.

After the victory of Pelusium, the Persians advanced towards Memphis. There the great obstinacy of the Egyptian character became manifest; they were a headstrong, persevering, and fanatic people. Of this we have a sad example in ecclesiastical history in the Eutychian controversy, in the deplorable conduct of the Egyptian monks, the majority of whom had adopted the monophysite heresy; their fury, obstinacy, and cruelty, were of a terrific nature. The character of the Egyptians has something very peculiar, especially afterwards in the time of the Ptolemies, when it displayed itself in a very striking manner. Its most prominent features are cruelty, anger, obstinacy, and a sullen contempt of death. It was perhaps different in the brilliant ages of their true greatness; but these belong to a period preceding historical times, and whenever and wherever we really know the Egyptians, they show something extremely unamiable, nay, hateful. Their fury in the tumult under the Ptolemies, described by Polybius, is quite in accordance with their character. Their national conceit, moreover, was most repulsive. The Persians had sent a mighty Mitylenaean trireme to Memphis to call upon that city to capitulate; but the Egyptians, in their despair, and without any hope of maintaining themselves, seized it and tore the envoy to pieces. At last, they succumbed: famine compelled them to surrender; and the inhabitants of Memphis were treated by Cambyses with fearful cruelty. This may have been according to the character of Cambyses; but there already existed between the Persians and Egyptians a thorough hatred, a national antipathy, which always showed itself; and which arose from the great difference between their religions. That of the Persians consisting in the worship of light and fire, made them thoroughly despise the Egyptian worship of animals, as the hawk and ibis, and led them to detest the worshippers. However much the Egyptians may have symbolised their worship, and however symbolical it may have been originally, it certainly was then the coarsest and most vulgar African fetish-worship. The Egyptians, on the other hand, regarded many customs and

actions of the Persians as impieties.[5] When a Persian struck a cat that was troublesome to him, the Egyptian seeing it, flew at him in a passion and slew him. In the same manner, they afterwards, under the dominion of Rome, murdered Roman soldiers, although they trembled before them; they did not rest until they had put to death a soldier, who, in their opinion, had committed a religious outrage. We hear of similar things among the Chinese: when a European has transgressed their laws, they are importunate until he is delivered up to them and put to death. A greater national antipathy could not exist; and it became still more formidable in its consequences by the repeated insurrections of the Egyptians.

LECTURE XIV.

In their accounts of the conquest of Egypt, Ctesias and Herodotus again differ so widely from each other, that the former calls King Psammenitus by the name of Amyrtaeus, which is decidedly wrong. According to the statement of the latter, Cambyses spent the remainder of his life in the conquered country, occupied with designs of fresh conquests; he was led on by circumstances, and he wished to carry his arms into Africa as far as his father had carried them into Asia. But nature opposed him. He might have marched westward against Carthage, or made an attempt to conquer Ethiopia in the south. The latter idea was then the less absurd, because the intercourse between Egypt and Ethiopia was very great and active; and architectural remains of that period are "everywhere to be met with. The valley was indeed too small to furnish provisions for a large army, but that defect might have been remedied, and Cambyses might have reached the very heart of Ethiopia."

[5] "It is an erroneous notion, that the Egyptians ate no beef at all; they abstained only from the flesh of cows, as the Rajpoots in India do at this day."

The account of the embassy which Cambyses sent to the king of the Macrobians, an Ethiopian people, must be regarded as a legend without any historical value; and the description of the Macobrians themselves is altogether fabulous. But, admitting thus much, we yet have no reason for supposing that the expedition of Cambyses against the Ethiopians is fabulous; we only must conceive it in a different direction from that which it is said to have taken. It must have proceeded from Syene in Upper Egypt, towards Natapa and Meroë, in the direction which must be taken to cut through the desert in order to avoid the necessity of following the long and circuitous reach of the Nile near Dongola. "This is the same road which is still taken by the caravans." We cannot wonder at the statement, that the army sent out by Cambyses, perished in that desert, which is infested by deadly blasts, and whirlwinds of sand, such as are hardly to be met with even in the Sahara; if it had followed the reach of the Nile, this would not have happened. Another of his proposed expeditions was directed against Carthage, but, as he could not carry it out without the aid of Phoenician ships, he did not succeed; for the Phoenicians, with a rare determination, refused him the use of their fleet, and as, being a maritime people, they were more independent, they could make good their refusal to fight against their own colony more easily than any other nation could have done. Their own prosperity seems to have been connected with Carthage, even if their natural feelings had not forbidden them to aid an enemy against their own colony. The whole of the lucrative commerce which was carried on between the West and Asia, was concentrated at Carthage; its course was from Cadiz to Carthage, and thence to the mother country, Phoenicia. All the tin came by way of Carthage; and the Tyrian lead, which is spoken of in the Oeconomics, falsely ascribed to Aristotle, was, in all probability, neither more nor less than tin; and it is clear that this important commodity, which could not be obtained in Western Asia, was imported from Tyre. Whether the excellent tin, which is found in Eastern Asia, had already found its way into Phoenicia, is very doubtful. The commerce between Carthage and Greece was at all times unimportant, and between Carthage and Asia,

as well as between Asia and the European marts, there was no commerce except that carried on by the Phoenicians. Tyre was the channel through which Europe received its commodities from the East. The staples were from Phoenicia to Carthage, and thence again to the West of Europe. A war, therefore, in which Carthage might have been destroyed, would have injured their own interest. Hence they refused to follow the king, and induced him to give up the undertaking. He also contemplated an expedition against the Cyrenaeans, but this was prevented by his death.

While in Egypt, Cambyses abandoned himself to habits of intoxication, and gave way to passion in a manner that deeply offended the feelings of the Egyptians, and rendered him no less odious to the Persians. Intoxication may be called an indigenous vice among the Persians; it continues the same down to the present day, notwithstanding their profession of the Mahommedan religion: no nation is more addicted to drinking, and this has been a reproach to them from early times. Cambyses is not the only one among the Persian kings that was given to this vice, and the various anecdotes in Herodotus, of the rage into which he was thrown by intoxication, are easily credible, and of such a nature that we may assert they have the stamp of truth upon them. These traits of the Persian character are extremely faithful, and are very interesting as affording an historical basis: the Persians of that remote period appear in them exactly like their modern descendants. In spite of the government of foreign nations, in spite of all changes, and in spite of their mixture with other people, the characteristic features of the ancient Persians are still preserved among the fire-worshippers in Yezd and Kerman; these latter have much harder features than the Mahommedan Persians. This fact is as striking as the great difference which exists between the Christian Kopts and the Mahommedan Egyptians, although the latter must be the descendants of Egyptians who became converts to Mahommedanism; yet both can be distinguished at once as easily as the fire-worshippers in Persia from the Mahommedan Persians. This is a very remarkable circumstance, showing how national features are often modified by causes quite different from mere external influences, such

as climate; and that not these alone influence the formation of national character, but that religion and the mode of living likewise contribute their share. One of the peculiar features of the ancient Persians, is, a pliable servility and submissiveness: the Persian never was a free and proud man: and there is the greatest difference between the Persians and Arabs, and even between the Persians and the Kurds, though they are kindred nations. The Kurd is proud, straightforward, and does not submit to despotism, always longing for the freedom of the camp; the Persian, on the contrary, has indeed much talent and intelligence, but he is servile; and with all his gracefulness or elegance, he has no other idea than that of being either slave or shah. This servility of the Persians is strikingly exemplified in the history of Prexaspes and Cambyses, as given by Herodotus, where Cambyses, while in the act of shooting the son of Prexaspes through the heart, asks him whether he is a drunkard, and Prexaspes answers, that God himself could not aim more correctly. This answer of a father standing by the corpse of his son, is peculiarly Persian; and every Persian of rank and distinction would still return the same answer. With all this, the Persians are extremely cruel, as is evident from the punishments they devise, and from their refined modes of torture, as may be seen in the history of Artaxerxes; and such is their character at the present day. Thus they caused a condemned person to be buried in the earth up to his neck, and exposed him to death by starvation, and to the attacks of rapacious birds, which picked out his eyes. This occurs in the reign of Cambyses, who ordered twelve of the noblest Persians to be buried up to their necks in the earth. Another peculiarly cruel punishment was "the planting of trees" as they called it, in which the condemned person was buried alive with his head downwards; and this is still an ordinary mode of punishment among them. Thus Feth-Ali-Shah, or Abbas Mirza, led a distinguished Persian through his garden; and having shown him everything with the appearance of the greatest kindness, he asked, whether anything was wanting. The courtier answered, that the garden was absolutely perfect; but the prince replied, that something was yet wanting, and that he must plant a tree. Astra-Chan (?), the

courtier, fell imploringly at his feet, and purchased his life only with the sacrifice of his treasures. So degenerate was the East even at that early period; nowhere do we find greater moral depravity than that which runs through ancient history in all parts of the East. Hence the great admiration of the East is altogether a strange thing; and it is folly to wish that India would shake of the yoke of the English; for although their government is but indifferent, and although it commits sad blunders and causes much suffering, yet the country is governed with the best intentions, and the British government is for the Indians really a heaven upon earth. The Eastern nations are thoroughly depraved and morally degraded; and this character belongs to them all, from the Mediterranean to Japan and China: if a change is to be produced, it can only be done by European discipline and government. They have in their degradation outlived themselves.

Among other atrocities which Cambyses committed, when he was provoked to give vent to his passion and to shed blood, was that of ordering his own brother Smerdis to be put to death. The story is, that he was led to do this by a dream, and there is nothing improbable in this account. Here again we see an example of Oriental indifference, and of the readiness which knows no scruples when commanded by the sovereign; for the same Prexaspes who had been so complaisant to Cambyses, and who had been so grievously injured, now at the king's command murders the innocent prince. The account of Ctesias, on the other hand, that Smerdis was murdered at the instigation of a Magian who greatly resembled him, is altogether incredible and false. It was to appear, it is said, that the Magian was put to death; but Smerdis was executed in his place; whereupon the Magian appeared in the attire of Smerdis, and was given out to be the prince. Such traits are characteristic, and enable us rightly to estimate Ctesias' accounts of the earlier times. All that seems to be certain, is, that then, as has been often the case in the East, and also in the Middle Ages, a pretender arose, who, along with great boldness and address, possessed more or less resemblance to the murdered prince, and under his name came forward to claim the throne. While Cambyses was yet

staying in Egypt, he learned that a person calling himself Smerdis had come forward at Ecbatana, and had taken possession of his throne and treasures; and that the Persians, tired of the tyranny of Cambyses, had recognised him as their king. This Smerdis was the brother of a Mede, whom Cambyses had left behind as the administrator of his empire, and had a strong resemblance to the real Smerdis. Supported by his brother, who at once paid homage to him, he put himself in possession of the treasures and of the empire. This pretender won for himself the favour of the whole country, and the hearts of all the people, because he immediately reduced the taxes, and ruled mildly and mercifully; thus exhibiting a strong contrast to the intemperate rage of Cambyses. Cambyses now set out against him with the army, which was still faithful to him; and had he returned to Persia, a battle would have decided the issue; but his career was cut short before it came to that; Cambyses accidentally wounded himself with his own sword, and died in consequence; mortification having taken place in the wound. As he left no children, the army, after his death, recognised the Pseudo-Smerdis, who was generally considered to be the brother of Cambyses; for the nation put no faith in the assertion of Cambyses, that his brother, the real Smerdis, had died long since, because he had never made his fratricide publicly known.

According to the account of Herodotus, we ought to believe, that the only change which took place, was, that a Magian ruled under the name of a Persian; that the Persians now, as before, continued to be the ruling body, though they were governed by a king who was a Median Magus; just as in a country where the king belongs to a foreign dynasty, while the government of the country is in the hands of the natives, as is at present the case in Sweden under Bernadotte. But the case must have been different in Persia; and there was, in all probability, a political revolution, not merely in the dynasty, but in the whole government; a revolution by which the supreme power passed from the hands of the Persians into those of the Medes, and to that class of the Medes called the Magi. Against this revolution the Persians rose. The account of the manner in which the deception of the Magian was discovered is very doubtful; and may be

safely classed among the popular traditions. The fact on which we may rely, is, that the Persians, led on by seven of their noblest countrymen, rose up in arms, overpowered the usurper, and murdered him in his palace; and that in consequence of this, a general insurrection broke out against the Medes and Magi, of whom the Persians slew as many as they could find; and that then a festival was celebrated and instituted in commemoration of the event under the name of the Magophonia. As regards the seven noble Persians in this account, it is evident, that as long as the Persian monarchy existed, there were seven great families which were regarded as far superior to the rest; just as in the *lex Baiuvariorum*, for example, four families are mentioned as being the great families. In the same manner, there were in Persia seven families who enjoyed the privilege of greater freedom than any other portion of the nation. In later times, they are mentioned as the companions of the king, and as taking their meals at his table; they are regarded as the king's equals, and they alone are not in servitude, but free, while all the other subjects are slaves of the king. Hence the mention of the seven families in the Persae of Aeschylus; and they are noticed also by later writers. The kings of Pontus, for example, traced their origin to one of these great families. I am convinced, that we have not here an insurrection or rebellion, as Herodotus states, in which seven noble Persians individually rose against the usurper, but that we are to understand the affair as a true national movement, and that the seven families do not, as is stated in Herodotus, descend from those seven, but that the seven men are the representatives of the seven families. It must, moreover, be observed that even afterwards the seven grandees continue to be mentioned; but as according to the account of Herodotus, Darius was one of them—he was one of the Achaemenidae—only six would have remained; so that the families cannot be the descendants of those seven individuals. There is a remarkable coincidence between the Magophonia, the massacre which the Persians instituted among the Magi, and the account in the Book of Esther, according to which the Jews received permission to take vengeance on their enemies. I am convinced that this book cannot be regarded as historical; and

I have not the least hesitation in stating it here publicly. Many entertain the same opinion. Even the early fathers have tormented themselves with it; and St. Jerome, as he himself clearly intimates, was in the greatest perplexity through his desire to regard it as an historical document. At present no one looks upon the statements in the Book of Judith as historical, and neither Origen nor St. Jerome did so: the same is the case with Esther; it is nothing more than a poem on those occurrences. But that coincidence in the account of the vengeance of the Jews with the Magophonia, is surprising; they are outbursts of national hatred.

The story of Darius' groom, Oebares, by whose cunning Darius gained the advantage among the seven who were then the masters of the Persian empire, and was raised to the throne, is well known. Cunning thus decided that which ought to have been left to chance.

We now come to the reign of Darius, whose first year falls in Olymp. 64, 4 (B. C. 521). His reign is not less important in the history of Persia than that of Cyrus himself; its long duration (he reigned thirty-six years, that is, until Olymp. 73, 3) enabled him to carry out and complete his plans and designs. His reign saw the administration of the Persian empire carried to perfection: Cyrus had conquered, and Cambyses had added a conquered kingdom; but the whole was yet a confused and chaotic mass. Darius divided the empire according to a regular system, and with the utmost possible exactness, and regulated it as one state, so far as, according to the circumstances of Eastern despotism, it was possible to give a definite form to the country. "The Persians called Cyrus a father, Cambyses a master, and Darius a tradesman; and Herodotus states that they did so because Darius had made everything attainable with money, and because in everything he had an eye to money. But he cannot have been an ordinary man; for by his institutions Persia was enabled to maintain herself in a flourishing, though, it is true, always dissolute, condition for a period of nearly two hundred years." He also extended the empire in all directions; and the glory of having conquered the border countries of India, as far as the frontiers of Western India,

belongs to him. Western India, the valley of the Indus and the Punjaub, are altogether separated from the rest of India by a remarkable natural boundary line—the great desert, extending between the Indus and the rivers that flow into the Ganges; it begins in Kerman and extends into India, being interrupted only by the Indus, whose fertile valley is but narrow. This desert, therefore, separates the western part, the India of the Indus, from the eastern part, or India of the Ganges. The India of the Indus was conquered by Darius, so that the whole river, from its source to its mouth, could be traversed by Persian ships. "Amongst his many undertakings, he sent an exploring expedition down the river; Cashmir, also, was discovered by him." In like manner, he made the Arabs tributary; he did not, however, according to the Roman fashion, change Arabia into a province; but that country remained quite independent. Thus he extended his empire in the East and in the South; in the West, Cyrene and Barca, that is, the country as far as the frontiers of Carthage, became tributary to him; in the East of Europe, Thrace, and Macedonia, as well as the islands near the Asiatic coast as far as the Cyclades, became tributary; though the Cyclades may have been neglected, as very little notice seems to have been taken of them. He, moreover, aimed, on the one hand, at subduing all the countries round the Euxine; and, on the other, at uniting Greece with his empire. These undertakings of his, especially his attempt to subjugate Greece, which, like the other, proved unsuccessful, constitute the subsequent history of his reign, and we shall speak of them, hereafter; at present we shall notice the reforms which Darius introduced in his own empire.

He divided the whole empire into twenty satrapies. The Persians were the select and the free people, so long as they remained at home; there they governed themselves according to ancient institutions; but as soon as they went to the court, they were slaves like all the other subjects. Their country was exempt from taxes. In all the remaining parts of the empire, Darius introduced a uniform system of government and taxation. The government was peculiar, for in every province there were two independent authorities, as we see most distinctly from the

very instructive books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which agree with our Greek authorities. In every province there was a military commander, whom the Greeks call the satrap, and besides him there was a royal scribe, or clerk of accounts, who levied the tributes and taxes, and was independent of the satrap; he only levied money, and had other sources of revenue for himself, consisting of a certain number of crown estates for the support of his court and his body-guard. The satrap was, at the same time, a higher kind of judge for the subjects of his province. These arrangements have a striking resemblance to those which the Europeans found in India in the empire of the Mongols; though in this case they do not appear to have proceeded from the Mongols, but to have been introduced by the earlier Mahommedan rulers, the Patans and Afghans. It was these latter, that had adopted the Persian institutions and transferred them to India. In the latter country, the satrapies were called subas, and the governor or satrap, who had a very extensive *imperium*, bore the title of subadâr.[1] By the side of this subadâr, there was the divân or account-keeper, who levied the land-tax according to regular measurements, as well as the countless number of indirect taxes, and was well acquainted with the Eastern fiscal affairs. "The divân was not dependent upon the subadâr, but received his orders from the emperor; and the common practice was to fill the two offices with men who were strangers, or even hostile to one another, in order that they might not form an understanding between themselves." By this means, it was believed that the dependence of the provinces was secured; and something certainly was thus effected, but it was insufficient to keep a rebellious satrap in check. When a bold satrap or subadâr wished to revolt, he secured the divân or endeavored to win him over to his side. When the English came to India, the East India Company caused the dignity of the divân to be transferred to itself; but it levied the taxes for itself and not for the Mogul, to whom it paid a pension. Thus we behold in the East the same institutions throughout many centuries. Da-

[1] "I do not mean to assert that this is the same word as satrap, though there is a resemblance."

rius may be regarded as the inventor of this system; for the Baylonians, Assyrians, and Medes, appear to have everywhere had their vassal princes, but not satraps.

LECTURE XV.

As in the reign of Darius, Persia was at the height of its prosperity, power, and greatness, we may suppose, that the division of the empire into twenty satrapies is justly ascribed to him, and does not belong to a later period. But whether the list of these satrapies strictly comprises all the nations, and whether some were not added which were really in a relation of dependence, though they were not included in the complex of the Persian empire properly so called, is a question which I cannot answer nor decide. Macedonia and Thrace, for example, afterwards appear as dependent countries; and though they did not form separate satrapies, yet they appear to have been under the control of Persian commanders.

The amount of taxes of the Persian satrapies is stated by Herodotus in silver; but whether we are thereby to understand that every province had to raise a fixed amount of money, seems to me to be a very doubtful question; it is, however, not likely that this was the case. As regards the Ionians, it seems indeed certain, that they had to raise a fixed amount of money, as was the case in some Roman provinces; but in general, there is in Asia this peculiar mode of taxation, that a certain portion of the produce is paid, the sovereign being regarded as the owner of the soil; and this general tribute no doubt existed among the Persians also. But notwithstanding this, the scribe or levier of the taxes may have been ordered to deliver up a certain amount into the treasury, so that all he raised over and above the sum thus fixed, was his own perquisite. The numbers which are mentioned, are always the clear profit. Every province was obliged to furnish a certain sum, and in addition to this to main-

tain a certain number of soldiers; if this army cost more than the sum allotted for its maintenance, or if the produce was otherwise insufficient, the subjects were compelled to raise the sum required. The same was the case when a province of the Turkish empire was lost: for example, when a part of Moldavia was given up, the remaining portion had to pay the same sum which had before been paid by the whole; for it could not possibly be expected that the sultan should suffer the loss!

The Persian system of administration, on the whole, left the internal condition of the conquered countries unchanged; only that every province received its despot, who arbitrarily interfered in every thing in his own province, like a Turkish pasha, and acted there precisely as his sovereign did throughout the empire. But in detail the Persians left every thing as much as possible in its former condition; thus every city in Phoenicia and Ionia retained its old constitution, and in the former even the ancient native princes continued to reign. The Greek maritime towns remained completely Greek, but it was the policy of the Persians to set up a τύραννος in each of them; an aspirant to that position being either supported in his pretensions, or the satrap raised a man to it. "These tyrants were often men of great abilities; but the misfortune was that they were usurpers: the really detestable tyrants belong to a later time, and were generally leaders of mercenaries. In the Book of Ezra, we see that the people in western Asia also governed themselves almost independently. The subjects were allowed to do what they pleased, if they did but pay their tribute, and obey the commands from above. The separate provinces often even made war upon one another."[1]

Herodotus gives no account of the wars in which Darius subdued the Arabs and Indians; but we may place full confidence in his statement that both nations were tributary to the king of Persia. As to the Arabs, however, the obligation to pay tribute was not extended to all the Arab tribes; for those in the desert assuredly paid no tax on their camels, since they were quite be-

[1] This paragraph has been transferred to this place from a subsequent part of this Lecture, where it preceded the paragraph beginning "Among the wars of Darius," etc., p. 139.—Ed.

yond the reach of the Persian collectors of taxes. All the Arabs were not, properly speaking, comprised in a satrapy, but as Herodotus relates, brought tribute from time to time, consisting of gold, and more especially of frankincense. This mention of frankincense points to the remotest parts of Arabia, Yemen and Hadramout, the southernmost parts of that country, and proves that they also were subject to Persia. It also shows, how firmly the power of Persia must have been established in other quarters. In what manner the Persians acquired the dominion over those countries, is indeed a mystery, just as much as the way in which Chosru Nushirwan came to Yemen and subdued the Homerites. It is, however, probable that that part of Arabia was conquered by a fleet from the Persian gulf; Oman may have been a Persian satrapy.

But the mention of the Indians in Herodotus, and the whole manner of which he speaks of them, is still more mysterious. The Indians, in his opinion, are savages, and all that he relates concerning their manners, characterises them as such; he describes them as being black; calling them expressly black like the Ethiopians. In the more ancient times, where two classes of Ethiopians (*Αἰθίοπες τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαιάται*, in Homer) are mentioned, near the rising and near the setting sun, there can be no question, that the Ethiopians near the rising sun are the Indians. We must not overlook the remarkable circumstance that the Indians are a mixed nation; not only are the southern Indians quite a different race from those in the north, their language having nothing in common with the Persian (?), and themselves being, wherever the Telinga language is spoken, really a black people,—but even the northern Indians are mixed; they are very different in colour, cultivation and dialects. Their language, in its various dialects, has a strong admixture of Sanscrit. It has lost its grammar, and is mixed with foreign words of the most different kinds. This much we may say with certainty, that the Indians described by Herodotus do not bear any resemblance to the modern Indians; but there were originally in India two black races. On the coast we meet with an almost black population, who speak the language of the Telingas; and the mountains in the interior are inhabited by savages, the so-

called "hill people," who extend all over India, in the mountains between Bengal, Bahar and Orissa; in the north of Bengal as far as the frontiers of Thibet, as well as in the hills of the Deccan; in short, they are found scattered everywhere. The language of this people has not the remotest resemblance to the Sanscrit, and is very meagre. This is a real negro race, no doubt akin to the great black race which inhabits New Holland, New Guinea, New Zealand, the interior of the islands of Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, Luzon and the other Islands of that Archipelago, the Andamans and Nicobars, and is called Papuas, or in Spanish Negrillos. Those belonging to this race are the original inhabitants of India. They seem to speak several languages: much has been said about them in the *Asiatic Researches;* but it is to be regretted, that as yet, many points in the history and geography of India have been treated so feebly and unsatisfactorily, and this ethnographical question also is still very confused. It is surprising that the English have not done more in this respect; but the rulers have had but little concern about geography and ethnology. A friend of mine now deceased, who had the management of the taxes in Bengal, is the only one until now, who has written on the subject. It is not yet twelve years since the geology of India was as little known as its inhabitants. We have only isolated fragments from otherwise excellent observers; what is most wanting in English books of travels, is, the desire to produce a whole; for in all matters of detail they are keen observers, and report conscientiously.

When, therefore, we read in Herodotus of the black Indians and of their savage manners, we must beware of imagining that he is in error, and of falling back upon our knowledge, that the Indians were about the most ancient really civilised people in the world. This opinion concerning the antiquity of Indian civilisation, which has sprung up especially within the last forty years, is indeed, spreading farther and gaining stability. I cannot decide upon it, and cannot say what it is founded upon; but from the assurance of a very competent Englishman, I believe that people will soon come to the conviction, as some highly competent persons have already done, that all the alleged knowledge of the Indians does not by any means belong to the cen-

turies of Moses and Sesostris, to which it has been assigned, but that the greater part of their literature belongs to the middle ages; that for the most part it is borrowed from the Greek, through the medium of Arabic translations; and that even their poetry, in comparison with that of the Greeks, is of very recent date, and probably belongs to the first centuries of the Christian era; while what is commonly ascribed to these centuries probably belongs to the middle ages, or was, perhaps, written even as late as a few centuries ago. The truth of all this will one day be found out. If, however, people will suppose that the Indians did not acquire their civilisation and division into castes till after the time of Herodotus, this must have happened during the period between Herodotus and the Seleucid kings; for it cannot be denied, that in the time of the Seleucidae, Megasthenes, when sent as ambassador to Sandracottus, found among the Indians, the division into castes, and a priestly caste which claimed for itself a superior knowledge. I cannot venture to pronounce this opinion as a positive conclusion; but it is founded upon the judgment of experienced and competent men.

Certain it is, that, if Darius ruled over the whole territory of the Indus, and Persian India was separated from the eastern part by the gold-containing desert, that part of India, the magnificent valley of the Indus, was no longer a part of Persia at the time when it was invaded by Alexander; for the whole of India as far as the mountains of the Afghan frontiers was then governed by native princes. During the intervening period, accordingly, great changes had taken place in those districts, and the Persian empire had become narrower in the eastern parts as well as in those of the west; in like manner, we find, during Alexander's expedition, no trace of the Arabs being in any connection with the Persian empire.

Among the wars of Darius in the interior, the subjugation of the Medes is mentioned only cursorily in a few lines. The Medes, after the insurrection, evidently attempted to assert their independence, and at least to shake off the Persian yoke, but they were conquered by Darius. The conquest of Babylon, on the other hand, is related more minutely by Herodotus; for the city, no doubt, in consequence of the general commotion,

had thrown off the yoke. Darius subdued it after a long war, which the Babylonians carried on with the energy of despair, so that they put to death all those who were unable to bear arms, partly in order that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy, partly that the remaining people might not suffer from want of provisions. Such a general massacre is not strictly historical (?), but certainly has some foundation. Darius took the city, it is said, by the self-sacrificing treachery of Zopyrus, who, in order to serve him, mutilated his face, went to the Babylonians as a deserter, gained their confidence, and betrayed them; an act of the greatest baseness and infamy, but very characteristic of eastern manners and sentiments.

These wars by which the previous state of things was restored, are of no great importance to us now, as they belong to a time removed from us by more than 2500 years; but the wars which led Darius to Europe, are particularly important and memorable; partly because we belong to Europe and regard ourselves as the opposite of Asia, and partly because it was through them that Persia came first in contact with Greece. They also form for us the transition to the history of Greece. Darius seems to have advanced at random without any definite object, and wherever in his empire he found a people still unsubdued, he found sufficient reason for attacking and subduing it like the rest. When, therefore, the countries of Asia Minor and all those between the Euxine and Aegean, had submitted to his sway; the Thracians on the opposite shore were still in the enjoyment of perfect independence. His object accordingly was, and to him it seemed quite necessary, to subdue them also, and thus to change the Euxine into a lake in the interior of Persia. There can be no doubt that the Persians were attracted also by the wealth resulting from the commerce with the Scythians; and we here see, however strange it may sound, how commerce with a Mongol people had been a source of wealth. That commerce was extremely important, not only on account of the gold which came from those quarters in great abundance, but also on account of the corn trade which provided Greece with grain from the Black Sea, the Dniepr, and the Crimea, so that the Black Sea was the indispensable condition of that trade. To this

we must add the immense imports of τάριχοι or dried fish, and no doubt also of caviare, the pressed spawn of the tunny fish—botargo[2]—which formed a chief article of food among the Greeks, especially as a condiment to their bread. The modern Greeks at least use it in this way, particularly at Athens, and such was assuredly the case also in ancient times, for these things are not recent inventions, but very ancient customs. Pickled tunny fish were likewise imported from the Bosporus, the Black Sea, Sinope and Pontus, and like anchovies and salted fish of every kind, they were among the chief articles of food. Furs, which in the middle ages were so important an article, are not so distinctly mentioned, as far as I know; and the country does not appear then to have exported them; but gold, corn and salted fish, were the principal articles of export. The Greeks, on the other hand, carried to the Scythians on the Black Sea, wine, oil, linen, and a number of other commodities, for example, tin, which they no doubt received from the Phoenicians, and other metals, which were wanting there. All Scythia and the Crimea are extremely poor in minerals, which they obtained for the most part from Byzantium, the Greek cities on the Cimmerian Bosporus, and on the southern coast of the Euxine. Thus commerce in those countries was very active, but according to the idea of commercial balance, perhaps not always advantageous to the Greeks; as in later times Athens was obliged to pay ready money for many articles. On the coast there existed a great many flourishing towns and factories of the Greeks, which had been planted not long before, it is said after the fall of Nineveh, by the Greek colonies in Asia Minor. This extension of the Greeks, shows how little oppressive the government of the Lydians was: Miletus alone founded innumerable colonies.

Thucydides[3] says of the Thracians, that, if they formed one united empire, they would be one of the most powerful nations, and would be irresistible in war. This statement was unintelligible

[2] The note gives a Greek word Βούταρχος. The word (*botargo, bottarica, boutargue*), though probably derived from the Greek, seems to occur only in the languages derived from the Latin; the modern Greek is αὐγοτάριχον. —Ed.

[3] This should probably be Herodotus (v. 3); comp. Thucyd. ii. 97.—Ed.

even to Gatterer, the first who, after Herodotus and Thucydides wrote profoundly on the Thracian nation;[4] it is a valuable and solid dissertation, and is one of the first that appeared after the deplorable condition in which ancient chorography had until then existed, that is previously to the time of Voss, who was the first that placed geography on its right footing, and was in reality the first to direct attention to the necessity of such treatises. Even now I know of few treatises which are so perfectly successful as those of Gatterer. The country of the Thracians, however, was more extensive than he believes, for he makes the Ister the boundary line, which is not correct. It cannot be disputed that the Getae, who are mentioned by Herodotus only in Bulgaria, south of the Danube, lived even at that early period north of the Danube, in Dacia and especially in Transilvania and Upper Hungary. But in the northern countries the Scythians then ruled over the plains, even beyond the Aluta, and in Lesser Wallachia; and as thus the connection between the Northern and the Southern Thracians was interrupted, the former were not perceived by Herodotus. There is no doubt that the Dacians were Getae, and that the Getae were Thracians; the Triballians, who inhabited Slavonia, Lower Hungary, and perhaps extended still further, were likewise Thracians. Thus the Thracians extended not only from the Aegean to the Ister, and from the Bosporus to the Strymon, but, before the Gallic immigration, in the interior as far as Croatia; so that Servia, Bosnia, and Slavonia, belonged to them; and in the north of the Danube, the whole extent of country which was afterwards called Dacia, was occupied by Thracians. But at the time when Herodotus wrote, the Scythians had spread themselves as conquerors over the whole territory of the Ukraine, had been distributed over Moldavia and Wallachia, and ruled over those countries even beyond the boundaries of Lesser Wallachia. But how much farther may not the Thracians have extended over the north-western countries, before the time when the Illyrians penetrated into those countries from the North, and drove the Liburnian race from its seats! I have no doubt that they did extend

[4] In the Transactions of the Royal Society of Göttingen.

much farther, but the limits cannot be determined, for these things lie beyond the reach of history. There are later traces of the fact, that the Thracians extended much farther south into Greece, that they occupied the country as far as Pieria and the foot of Olympus; on this question our authorities admit of no doubt. The Thracians cannot have been in these latter districts at a very early time. The Thracian Orpheus belongs to Pieria, and the Thracians, of whom he was one, were Pierian Thracians, and not the inhabitants of the limited country afterwards called Thrace. Other express and unequivocal statements, which admit of no misunderstanding, make the Thracians extend as far as Boeotia, Phocis, and Epirus, and Tereus is a Thracian name. Although the stories of Tereus and Procne cannot be regarded as historical, yet the name of Tereus is significant. Teres, which is the same name, occurs among the Thracians at a later time, consequently, we have in that story a Thracian who dwelt at Daulis in Phocis. In Peloponnesus, there is no mention of Thracians, but they did extend as far as the frontiers of Attica. It is possible that Thracian tribes may have been pushed so far south by inundations. In Pierian Thrace, about Olympus, Homer fixes the boundary line between the Hellenic world and the nation of the Achaeans (Danai), on the one hand, and the world of the Teucrians, on the other; and the Thracians belong to the Teucrian system, not as if they had been of the same stock, but they belong to the political system of the Teucrians. The three peninsulas (one of which is mount Athos), which stretch forth into the sea between the mouth of the Axius and Strymon, were occupied by Thracians mixed with other people. There the Macedonians also extended themselves. The Pierians separating Macedonia from Thessaly were Thracians. But the Thracians were not confined to Europe; they also occur in Asia: the Thyni and Bithyni between the Propontis and the river Sangarius, were, and continued to be true Thracians, though afterwards they adopted the Greek language and became Hellenised. It is said, moreover, that the Phrygians were a Thracian people, who migrated into Asia; but this statement I do not consider trustworthy. If it were so, it would be the more remarkable, because Herodotus regards the Phrygians and Armenians as belonging to the same race, and as kindred na-

tions; from which we should have to infer, that there was a connection between the Thracians and Armenians. But this question is obscure, and I am not able to solve it.

At the time when Darius carried his conquests into Europe, and when the Thracians were compelled to submit to him, they were divided into a number of tribes, and remained so for a considerable time. Most of them were rude barbarians, being accustomed to tattoo themselves, given to drinking and many other barbarous habits; for example, they used to scalp their slain enemies, like the savages of North America, and preserve their skulls.[5] Everything among them has a savage and warlike character; and the opinion of the ancient poets, both Romans and Greeks, which Horace also adopts, in saying, that "Even savage Thrace wished for a cessation of the wars,"[9] is, on the whole, founded on historical truth. If they had formed a united empire, they would have become powerful, and would have conquered and ravaged Greece; but, fortunately for the safety of Greece, they were broken up into many states, and were very much isolated, especially in the south. It was not until later times that the kingdom of the Odrysians was formed there; but even when they were united as one empire, all its tribes were too uncivilised to give it a form, by which they might have concentrated their powers on one point; and, happily for Greece, they had then fallen into a barbarous indolence, from which they could not extricate themselves. The Getae on both sides of the Danube, north of mount Haemus or Aemus (for the aspirate is doubtful, though the Greek Αἷμος seems to be more correct), were a greater nation; but their unity was perhaps rather national than political; in the time of Herodotus they did not form a political

[5] This statement, that the Thracians scalped their enemies and preserved their skulls, may possibly have arisen from a momentary confusion of the Thracians with the Scythians. In 1826, Niebuhr did not describe the Thracians as so savage, for he said "They were at the same stage of civilisation as our ancestors in the middle ages, when there existed no towns, or when these had no influence upon the country." The custom of tattooing is mentioned by Herodotus, v. 6; and Athenaeus, xii. p. 524, D.—Ed.

[9] Horat. *Carm.* ii. 16.

state. They had acquired a reputation through their celebrated prophet Zamolxis, whose well-developed doctrine of the immortality and the migration of souls, was afterwards adopted by them. The character of the Getae in general was distinguished for its tendency towards a spiritual and religious life; and mysterious doctrines found great favour among them. This tendency, which we do not find among the southern Thracians, constitutes the chief difference between them and the Getae.

LECTURE XVI.

THE ethnography of the Thracians is very obscure, and not much has yet been done to distinguish the Thracian tribes according to their places of abode in classical antiquity. And it may be questioned, whether more can be done; for the Greek period, indeed, much more may be accomplished than has yet been done; but afterwards the tribes diverge too much. As a proof of the distracted state of the Thracians, and of the weakness of the separate tribes, I may mention the settlement of Greek colonies on all the coasts of Thrace, so that proceeding from the Thermaean gulf, from the Macedonian peninsula and Thessalonica to the Bosporus, and from the Bosporus to the mouths of the Ister, all the more important ports were occupied by Greek colonies. In founding these establishments, the Greeks must either have met with no obstacles, or they must have been able to overcome them.

The Getae were the most numerous among the Thracian tribes; and the Dacians, who afterwards acted such a prominent part, were a section of them. They are mentioned by the Greeks under the name of Δαῦοι, whence the name of the slave Davus in the later Attic comedy. Though separated by the Ister into two parts, they were in point of nationality and customs essentially the same; and the Dacians and Getae on the

left of the Danube, were only tribes of one and the same nation.[1] We know the names of a great many of the tribes south of Mount Haemus, such as the Diodolians (?), Doloncians, Apsinthians, Crobyzians, Crusaeans, Edonians, Odrysians, etc.; and respecting some of them, accounts have come down to us. The Odrysians, about the Upper Haemus, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, were the most numerous among them, and soon after the expeditions of Darius and Xerxes gained the supremacy over the other Thracian tribes, the Dians, Odomantians and Edonians, and even the Greek cities were obliged to purchase of them their peace and safety by an annual tribute. This Odrysian empire was the root of the subsequent Thracian kingdom, which continued until the time of Philip of Macedonia; it then perished, but revived again, as I shall show hereafter.

The Thracians were not the object of the expedition of Darius, but he only took them by the way, and obtained the submission of all the nations along his road, as far as Mount Haemus and the Ister. His road across that mountain was in its easternmost part, either by Shumla or the Kamtshik, and is the same which recently the Russian army took under Diebitsch. It is remarkable to find that the difficulties of Mount Haemus were unknown in antiquity, and that it was by no means considered such an impassable mountain as it has been described in modern times; and the Thracians were not protected by it against invasions of the northern nations. The Byzantine emperors also never relied on it as a bulwark against invasions from the north nor could they rely upon it: no one acquainted with history believes in the difficulties of crossing Mount Haemus.[2]

Darius had collected an army from all the countries of his empire, and his fleet from all the subject Greek cities on the coasts of Asia Minor, from the islands and from the Phoenicians; he had also ordered Egyptian vessels, fully equipped, to appear at the entrance of the Euxine. In drawing your attention to

[1] Comp. Niebuhr, *Klein. Schrift.*, vol. i. p. 376, foll.—Ed.

[2] This agrees with the observations which were made by C. Niebuhr (*Reisebeschreibung*, vol. iii. p. 170), who crossed the mountain by the Dobral pass.—Ed.

Herodotus' account of the expedition of Darius, I must again remind you of the immense differences between the perfect and incomparable ethnography and chorography which he furnishes, and the accounts of the events, which he gives, as he had heard them, with the most childlike credulity. His object was to record what he had learned; but he does not answer for the truth of his narratives. However, the passage of Darius in the neighbourhood of Byzantium is historical; so also is, no doubt, the statement that he crossed the Bosporus by means of a bridge constructed of ships, or, as Herodotus has it, by means of rafts, planned and constructed by Mandrocles of Samos. Rafts, however, can scarcely be thought of here; and the probability is, that a bridge was constructed of ships, just as was done afterwards, when Xerxes crossed the Hellespont. At any rate, the construction of a bridge over the Bosporus, considering the powerful current, is a work which does honour to the engineer; and he well deserved the distinctions and rewards with which Darius signified to him his gratitude and satisfaction.

Darius himself marched with his army through Thrace, as far as Mount Haemus, without meeting with any resistance; but when he reached the other side, he was opposed by the Getae; it was, however, in vain, for he conquered them, and proceeded towards the Ister. We may assume that Darius made his bridge on the Danube, in the neighbourhood of Galacz, unquestionably below the point at which the Pruth empties itself into the Danube; this is clear from the nature of the localities, otherwise he would have been obliged to make another bridge on the Pruth. To construct a bridge over the Danube, is itself an undertaking of great difficulty, on account of the low banks of the river, which to a great distance from the bed are so marshy, that the communication can be kept up only by embankments and wooden causeways through the marshes. Such is the case everywhere, except in the district where Trajan built his bridge; the difficulties begin at Tshernetz, near Nicopolis, and continue down to the mouth of the river. The part where a bridge may be most easily made, is near Tuldsha, not far from Galacz. Darius had sent the Ionians before him to construct the bridge of boats, and he left them behind to guard it. He is said to

have at first entertained the foolish design of leaving the bridge unguarded, and taking his whole army with him. If he intended to return by the same road, such a plan would have been quite absurd; but he probably intended to return to Persia, by marching round the Palus Maeotis past the Caucasus, and by way of Derbend. Herodotus does not notice this intention; but if we assume it, as we may fairly do, and if we bring the circumstances vividly before our mind's eye, the command to break down the bridge ceases to be unreasonable. But after all, the plan was based upon the certain supposition of his being victorious, and this was highly irrational. Herodotus, no doubt, only neglected to state this, for it was assuredly clear to him.

Herodotus has furnished us with a description of the Scythians, the excellence of which cannot be surpassed, and which is of a kind that enables us clearly to see the people just as they were; and unless we allow ourselves to be misled by prejudices, it is impossible to mistake their race and tribe.[3] His description perfectly agrees with the account given by Hippocrates, in his work *De aëre, aquis et locis*, and which is no less excellent than that of Herodotus. It is perfectly incomprehensible to me, and shows great recklessness, that notwithstanding these two descriptions, some modern writers have imagined, that the Scythians of whom Herodotus speaks, were in reality no distinct nation, but that by this name he meant to describe only the nomadic inhabitants of the steppes of the Ukraine. It is indeed true, that later writers, and even Pliny and Mela, were greatly puzzled by the name Scythians, and designated by it all the inhabitants of the Ukraine; and afterwards it was extended even still farther. The writers of the third century apply the name *Scythians* to the German tribes inhabiting those countries: thus the Goths, Heruli, and others, are, in the elegant language of the time, called Scythians; and Dexippus calls his history of the invasions of the Goths Σκυθικά. At a still later time, the name is constantly transferred from one race to another. As in Dexippus and Zosimus, the Goths are called Scythians, so

[3] Compare with what here follows, Niebuhr's *Klein. Schrift.*, vol. i. p. 352, foll.

we find the same name applied to people of the most different races, as to the Huns, the Sarmatian nations, Bulgarians, Avars, Chazars, etc., and whenever a new race appears in those parts, it is at once called Scythian. Lastly, the Byzantine writers of the fourteenth century apply the name to the Mongols and Tartars, and thus, without any merit of their own, they accidentally hit upon what is and was originally Scythian. Thus it is certain, that from the days of Pliny down to the fourteenth century, the name Scythians was altogether vague and indefinite. But what sort of logic is that, which, seeing that in times when distinct notions were lost, the abuse became current of calling all nations inhabiting those countries Scythians, infers that in ancient times also the name Scythian must be understood to be applied indefinitely to a number of tribes of different races, without regard to their origin? It is only necessary attentively to read the incomparable descriptions of Herodotus and Hippocrates, in order to see that they were quite a distinct people. If anywhere it is obvious that a definite people is spoken of, it is in those two descriptions of the Scythians. The folly and confusion has been completed by historians who are so arbitrary in the etymological explanation of names of nations, that some of them have considered the name *Scythians* to be German, and have found in it the word *Schützen* (shooters), because they are always mentioned as armed with bows (ἱπποτοξόται). Such authors confidently discover a nation's whole history in its name. Thus a friend of mine, a man of genuis, who had but a superficial knowledge of history, was convinced that Goths and Scythians are one and the same word, just like γράφειν and *scribere*, because the *s*, especially before *c* and gutturals, is only a change in sound, that does not alter the meaning. This latter remark is in itself correct enough; but the passion for etymologising becomes a real disease.[4]

[4] "It is much more tempting to compare the name Scythians with Tshudi, a name by which the Fins are called by their neighbours. Theophilus Siegfried Bayer (*Comment. Acad. Petropol.* i.) has brought forward the hypothesis that this is the name of the Scythians. The Fins have indeed migrated from the south to the north; but there exists no connection between the Finnic and Scythian languages."—1826.

The Scythians according to Herodotus, were a Mongol people; and the description of Hippocrates confirms this still more strongly. The latter says that they were a fat and fleshy people, in whom the articulation and organization of muscles and bones were but very imperfectly seen. This is the very feature which is so striking in Mongol nations: their face and skull are round, and the cut of their eyes is very singular; but what characterizes them still more strongly is, that their muscles and joints cannot be discerned, and disappear on the surface; their skin is thick and fat, and it covers and disguises the forms of muscles and bones. If we compare the nations of southern Europe with those of the north, we perceive a great and striking difference between them; in the southern nations, the Italians and Greeks, and in an almost higher degree in the real Asiatics and the inhabitants of Barbary, the muscles of the arms, and legs, for example, are very strikingly marked. This is not the case with the Egyptians, and this circumstance has had the greatest influence upon their sculpture. The other southern nations which I mentioned before, have their muscles developed and expressed to such an extraordinary degree, that this circumstance alone renders it clear to me, how the ancient sculptors and artists could produce their works without the study of anatomy; for the artist could see the whole of anatomy so far as he needed it, in the living body; he did not require the anatomy of the dead body, but was enabled in the living body to observe the play of the muscles; and the delicate skin so beautifully extended over them does not conceal them. The great difference between ancient and modern statues does not consist so much in the faces (though here too it shows itself, since the moderns take the matter more easily, and make their faces of a more general character, and with less individuality), as in the play of the muscles. If any one wishes to see the difference in a very striking way, he must examine ancient and modern statues together by torch-light. Such a study affords great pleasure and enjoyment: the ancient statues then seem living, and an endless variety of living muscles appear on the surface; modern statues do not possess this transparency, they are smooth, and there is no life in them; they seem dead, even

when they are the productions of great masters. The bas-reliefs of Thorwaldsen may be placed by the side of those of ancient sculptors, but not so his statues. Among the Egyptians, we do not find this richness, this development and animation of the muscles, notwithstanding their great strength; hence those things are wanting also in the Egyptian statues; though this must have arisen in some measure also from the material which they used for statues, having adopted the unfortunate custom of using extremely hard stone.

The Germanic and Sarmatian nations are surpassed in muscular development by the southern people, just as much as they themselves surpass the Mongols, who are plainly discernible in the description of Herodotus. A further proof of the Mongol origin of the Scythians may be seen in their manners and customs; they had, for example, vapour baths, by means of which they intoxicated themselves; strewing narcotic herbs on burning stones, while they themselves were shut up in narrow spaces (this custom also prevailed among the Kamskadales so long as they existed as a nation); "also their filthy habits, their drunkenness, and their tents made of felt." Such features show the race in an unmistakable manner. Like the Kalmucks, they spent their whole life on horseback: they had no villages, and wandered from place to place, only with this difference, that the ruling tribe did not cultivate the fields, while the subject tribes carried on a little agriculture; for a certain amount of agriculture was not incompatible with their wandering life, as they carried their tents with them on waggons. Such is still the life of the Bedouines in Morocco, those splendid districts which unfortunately they possess, and which are admirably suited for agriculture. There they wander from place to place, cultivate the soil, plant and sow, and when they have exhausted one district, they abandon it, proceed to another, and returning to it after a few years, they again find the soil quite fresh. The western Scythians were agriculturists, but there is no trace of their having lived in villages. They spent nearly the whole day on their horses, and were a people of a truly Siberian indolence, acquiring all they wanted by means of the sword. Some of the Greek cities of the coast were tributary to them. In the vast territory which they

occupied, the Scythians had everything they wanted; and the extensive commerce which was carried on through their country also afforded them great advantages, and thus they were rich notwithstanding the greatest possible laziness. They dwelt with their wives and children in carts covered with tents, with which they wandered from place to place. Such tent-waggons are now indeed no longer in use, and it cannot surprise us to find such customs abandoned; they are changed with the changing times; but their previous existence is nevertheless certain. The description of the *plaustra* and *vagae domus*, strange as it may appear, is perfectly correct.[5]

In the time of Herodotus, the Scythians extended their sway from the Danube, the country of Lesser Wallachia, to the river Tanais. The greatest difficulties in his description consist in the fact, that he had formed quite an erroneous conception of the course of the rivers: the Danube, for example, where it passes through Scythia, he conceives to flow from north to south, whereas in truth it flows in the south of Wallachia from the south-west almost directly towards the north-east. He thus imagines that it flows quite opposite to the Nile; but as the latter river, according to his notion, first flows from west to east, and afterwards from south to north, so he conceives the Ister to flow first from west to east, and afterwards under the same meridian as the Nile, from north to south. All the rest depends upon this first mistake. While in reality the southern frontier of Scythia which is formed by the Ister, has the appearance of the section of a circle, he conceives it as the side of a square, and what in truth is the chord of a circle, he imagines to be another side of the square; and he conceived it too short almost in the proportion of two to five. The Borysthenes, according to him, flows in the middle between the Ister and Tanais. His description of the Scythian country comprises only that part of the West which he knew, extending but a little way beyond the ancient Olbia, scarcely to the east of the Borysthenes. He himself had visited the country about that city and the Modern Odessa; and this district about the Bog is the only one which he knew east of the Ister. The

[5] Horat. *Carm.* iii. 24.

country further west is not touched upon by him; and we can only apply to it, what he says of the district about Olbia. Now as he here commits the blunder of making the Ister flow from north to south, so he conceives the Donez which flows from the east and empties itself into the Don, as coming from the Dniepr; and as it must flow in some direction, he makes it empty itself into the Palus Maeotis.[5] This error passed for a long time unobserved, and has produced the greatest confusion. Some have gone so far in their explanations and conjectures as to believe, that in the time of Herodotus some river must have flowed into the Maeotis, which in the course of time had disappeared, either by being dried up, or by some other circumstance. The chorography of those countries, not being classical, has most unfortunately fallen into the hands of people who knew very little of classical antiquity and classical literature. Thus some places which were obviously situated on the Bosporus and on the Dniepr, have been sought in the Crimea, as people were unwilling to admit that the Bosporanian kingdom extended as far as the Dniepr.

According to Herodotus, the Scythians were divided into three parts: the royal Scythians, dwelling about the Tanais—the nomadic—and the agricultural. The nomads dwelt between the royal and the agricultural Scythians, and the latter along both sides of the Dniepr. The country on the Bog, beyond Olbia, was occupied by a mixed people, half Greek and half Scythian, and beyond them lived agricultural Scythians. But the nations west of the Dniepr, in Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, are not mentioned by Herodotus; and the question as to whether these countries were inhabited by people that were subject to the Scythians, or whether the Scythians themselves occupied them also, cannot be answered from Herodotus, and we can have recourse only to conjectures. However this may be, it cannot be doubted, that agriculture was carried on there. But the real

[5] In his *Klein. Schrift.*, i. p. 360, note 19, Niebuhr in opposition to Herodotus, iv. 56, makes the Gerrhos empty itself into the Palus Maeotis (probably according to the map of D'Anville), whereas in the Herodotean maps of the world (*Klein. Schrift.*, vol. i.), he describes it as flowing into the Hypacyris, and as emptying itself with this river into the Euxine.—Ed.

character of the Scythians, as it is described in Herodotus, belongs more particularly to those extending from the Dniepr; it was the nomadic and royal Scythians that he had more immediately in view in his description.[7]

LECTURE XVII.

The Scythians were, in their own language called *Scoloti*. Here we have another example of the utterly futile and perverse tendency to make use of the names of nations for historical investigations. The same friend of mine who considered the Scythians to be the Goths, and tried to prove his opinion by the circumstance, that authors of the third and fourth centuries called the Goths *Scythians*, was also of opinion that the Scoloti and the Celts were one and the same people, for that Goths and Celts were identical. But the Celtic language differs as much from the Gothic as the latter does from the Slavonian.

There existed very different traditions respecting the origin of the Scythians; but that which was current among the people themselves, unquestionably deserves the preference. This tradition does not aim at describing the settlement of the Scythians, and their sojourn in the countries which they occupied; of these points it takes no notice. Herodotus here follows his own peculiar notion, which we cannot admit at all, that the human race was created at different times; and that, of the different races of men, some arose at an earlier and others at a later period. We must not lose sight of this notion in reading Herodotus; and when he describes the origin of the Scythians as the most recent of all nations, this is only one of the results of his

[7] "Herodotus derived his information from Olbia; and the Greeks of that district had no knowledge whatever of the western Scythians; but they did know the northern ones, because they brought down corn to them, and the eastern ones, because the caravans went as far as Permia. He only describes the rivers of western Scythia, all of which he knew as far as the Aluta, the Agathyrsi, and the Dacian mountains."—1826.

peculiar view; but when he says, that they had not yet existed one thousand years, this date depends upon his chronology of Heracles. The Scythian tradition concerning the origin of the people, does not touch upon the question whether they had their origin in the territory of the Ukraine, which was occupied by the Tartar tribes, or in the high lands of Asia. The Greek tradition fabulously connects their origin with the Heracleae. I do not believe that the human race was created at different periods: I consider this view irrational, and pay no regard to it. Suffice it for us to listen to the tradition of the nations on the Pontus, which states, that formerly the Scythians occupied the country north of the Araxes, and that being pushed forward by the Massagetae, they migrated into the Ukraine; that there they met another nomadic people called Cimmerians or Treres; unless the Cimmerians and Treres are different nations, for Strabo distinguishes the invasions of the Cimmerians and those of the Treres. Such is the ancient tradition, which deserves every consideration, and perfectly agrees with all the subsequent phenomena, which the successive development of later history presents to us down to the thirteenth and fourteenth century. One nomadic nation immigrates from the eastern regions of Asia, and, meeting with other nomadic tribes already settled in a country, it expels them from those districts which nature seems to have specially destined for a nomadic life. The expelled tribes, in their turn, throw themselves upon the already occupied countries of the more civilized West. The former are the Scythians, and the latter the Cimmerians. In all these movements, we find the reverse of the tradition in Genesis, where Cain, or the agricultural people, throw themselves upon Abel, or the shepherd tribe; for, in the other traditions, it is the shepherd, or nomadic tribes, that come upon the agricultural ones.

From the statements of ancient authors, there can be no doubt, that the Cimmerians were just such another nomadic people, living in their waggons and in tents like the Scythians.[2]

[1] "This, however, is opposed to the fact, that the Scythians showed Cimmerian castles. It is not known to what race the Cimmerians belonged; it is possible that the Taurians in the Crimea were remnants of them

It might, indeed, be said, that Callimachus, in speaking of the ἅμαξαι of the Cimmerians, which stood without the horses in the plains of the Caystrus, took the fact from the Scythians and transferred it to the Cimmerians; but I myself am convinced, that he had in view a distinct statement and an ancient tradition, and that he did not transfer it from the Scythians to the Cimmerians. The immigration of the Scythians into those countries belongs to a period preceding that of the Greek settlements on the coasts of the Euxine, which were founded during the later times of the Lydian and Median kings. This migration of the Cimmerians, when pressed by the Scythians, is alluded to in various traditions. On the Dniestr, the tombs of the Cimmerian kings were shown in the time of Herodotus; and there was a story, that those kings, forsaken by their people, who had not the courage to resist the Scythians, had refused to survive the conquest of their country. This tale, indeed, is a mere fable; but we may believe, on the authority of those Cimmerian tombs, that a decisive battle was fought on the Dniestr, and that the Cimmerians were routed, and compelled by the Scythians to abandon their steppes. Tumuli are still found in the Ukraine; and it is not impossible, that some may have been preserved from those remote ages, and that, if they were opened, many interesting objects might be found.

The Scythians had a peculiar tradition respecting themselves, from which, if interpreted, it is clear that their nation contained three ranks or gradations. There were, it is said, three brothers, from one of whom the kings were descended. This one had the gift bestowed on him of being able to touch and appropriate to himself the presents or talismans, which in ancient times had fallen from heaven, and which consisted of a golden plough, a golden quiver, and a golden sword.[2] If we consider this story

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who had maintained themselves in the hills. There is no ground whatever for connecting them with the Cimbri; the Cimmerians assuredly did not live in the west, and Homer, in assigning to them the extreme west, must have imagined that they dwelt all around Europe."—1826.

[2] This is apparently a *lapsus memoriae;* comp. Herod. iv. 5. In 1826, Niebuhr compared the worship of the sword of Ares (Herod. iv. 62) with other Mongol customs, and so also in his *Klein. Schrift.*, vol. i. p. 362.—Ed.

closely, I think it contains more than lies on the surface. The fact that only one could touch these golden implements and carry them home, and that this one founded the dynasty of the Scythian nation, suggests that the sovereignty was connected with such badges as these. From the circumstance that among these talismans a plough also occurs, I infer, and that without fear of falling into the mistake of applying allegory to history, that the Scythians, like many other nations, were divided into three tribes, which were distinguished from one another by their mode of life; in fact, in Herodotus' account we find these three nations, the Scythian agriculturists, the nomads, and the royal Scythians. The golden plough is the emblem of the agriculturists; the quiver indicates the nomads; and the sword is the symbol of the royal or ruling Scythians. Among all the Mongol nations, the sword is the talisman and symbol of the kingly dignity, or of the ruling family and tribe of the nation. The same symbol occurs in the history of Attila and Jenghis Khan. Thus we read in Jornandes, that Attila obtained the sovereignty through the circumstance that the sword of the god of war was brought to him; this sword had been discovered in his time by a peasant stumbling upon it in ploughing his field. Such notions are common among the Mongols; and I may mention as a strange coincidence, that the same story occurs in the history of Jenghis Khan; for the Arabsha (?) relates, that he was called to rule over all the Mongols, because a peasant while ploughing had found the sword of the god of war.

The easternmost of the three tribes into which the Scythians were divided was the horde of the Paralates[3] (the golden horde of later times), the horde of the royal Scythians, who occupied the western districts of the Cossacks of the Don, and the eastern part of Nogai. The nomadic Scythians lived next to them in the country of Nogai, towards the Dniepr, a country which is adapted only to the nomadic life, for the soil is throughout impregnated with salt, and is therefore good for nothing except for growing grass and breeding cattle. Agriculture may indeed be

[3] This name is merely conjectural; in two Manuscripts we read the horde of "Solotora."—Ed.

forced upon the soil; but it requires great care, and there is still the permanent disadvantage, that trees cannot grow; because, below the thin crust of soil, a layer of sandstone containing iron extends beneath the surface for many miles, so that when the roots come in contact with it, they decay, and the trees die away. Any one wishing to rear trees must break through the sandstone; but the winds in that country are so vehement, that the trees become crooked and crippled. On both sides of the Dniepr, and further still, as far as, and even beyond, the Bog, the country is excellent for growing corn; and there the agricultural tribe of the Scythians carried on its occupations. But this was not the only corn-growing country; the real country from which grain was imported into Greece, was the Polish Ukraine. The great roads for exporting grain, were, as they still are, down the Dniestr and the Bog, from Podolia and the Polish Ukraine to Olbia, and thence to Greece. Another country from which Greece was supplied with corn, was the Crimea and the districts about the Bosporus. The soil of the Crimea is excellent for growing corn. Thus much may suffice for the topographical description of Scythia.

Against these Scythians, Darius made war, probably not with an army of 700,000 men as Herodotus says: its number must have been considerably smaller; but he no doubt commanded a large army. The Ionians and other Greeks, who had joined him with their ships, were left behind on the Danube, where their ships had for the most part been employed in forming the bridge. He left them, it is said, a thread, in which, according to the fashion of the Mexican Quilos, sixty knots were made, and ordered them to untie one every day; saying, that if when they should be all untied, he had not returned, they were to take it as a proof that he had continued his march so far east, as to be unable to return by the same road; but not, as Herodotus relates, that they were to despair of his return. This story of the thread, and the order to untie one knot every day, may be historical; and if so, it contained something symbolical, which had connection with ordinary life; but it was not a measure dictated by necessity, for the art of writing was most extensively

diffused among the Asiatic nations, though not so among the Greeks.[4]

The expedition of Darius against the Scythians is a remarkable instance of the phenomenon, that at an age so near to the historical times, so many things which are impossible and inconceivable are related as facts by a man of the greatest intelligence and judgment. If you realize to yourself the account of Herodotus, it amounts to this: the Scythians sent their wives and children into the remotest districts, divided their men capable of bearing arms into three hosts, one of which was destined to misguide the Persians, and the two others were to march sideways, so as to draw the Persians into the remotest countries. This was done; the hosts of the Scythians withdrew before the Persians, destroyed the wells, burnt the vegetation of their pastures, and enticed the advancing Persians further and further into the country. In this manner the latter crossed the rivers Dniestr, Dniepr, and Don; then the Scythians threw themselves upon the nations dwelling behind them, and the Persians followed them from the territory of Tuldja to the other side of the Don, through the whole country of the Ukraine. In the neighbourhood of Saratow, the Scythians turned to the north, and the Persians marched in a circle, the Scythians constantly retreating from Tuldja by way of Saratow, Charcow, etc., into Upper Hungary, and the Persians constantly following them, until in the end the latter were in the greatest distress and difficulty. This course is perfectly impossible, and is one of those tales which we must at once reject as fabulous. The Persians are said to have amounted to 700,000; suppose that there were only 70,000 in the Ukraine: there was indeed some agriculture on the Dniepr, but beyond it there was scarcely any, and how insufficient must have been the agriculture of a people which had no fixed abodes! how insufficient must it have been for even the tenth part of such an army? How could 700,000 men on their march from the Danube to the Dniepr find the means of subsistence? And still more, how could they do so afterwards, in countries where there

[4] This is the reading of one Manuscript; in others, the reading is uncertain, and no certain conclusion can be come to.—Ed.

was no agriculture, where they had to march through vast steppes, beginning a few days' march from the Dniepr, and extending to the other side of the Don? How could the Persians exist there, and escape death by famine? When Herodotus relates, that they came from one people to another, this statement is probably based upon the geographical notion which he had formed of those countries. He conceives the Agathyrsi to have lived much nearer the Tanais than they actually did; for he imagined the Tanais and Ister to flow parallel to each other, and the Agathyrsi to live between them on the coast of the Ister; he then supposed the Scythians to return by a road parallel with the Ister: and arrive on its banks, before the Persians on their round-about way could reach it. Such an account was possible only in consequence of a totally erroneous notion of the geography of those countries, the causes of which I have already explained, and the author of which was Hecataeus (?)

It is impossible to say how far Darius, in his useless expedition, advanced into the country of the Scythians; but it is worthy of remark, that no less an authority than Strabo (vii. p. 305, b) says that Darius traversed the steppes of the Getae, between the Danube and Dniestr, without gaining any advantage. How was it possible for the Persians, without bridges, to cross such mighty rivers as the Dniestr, Dniepr, and Don? How could they have made bridges, and where did they obtain the means of making them? These are difficulties which Herodotus has overlooked. However beautiful and pleasing, therefore, his account is of the manner in which the Scythians drew the Persians into difficulties and then ridiculed them, we cannot concede to it a place in history; it is not historical, but it is nevertheless very masterly, and I wish you may enjoy its charms when reading it in Herodotus. We may, however, take it to be an historical fact, that while Darius was far away from the river, a portion of the Scythians appeared at the bridge on the Danube, advising its guardians to break it down and destroy it, in order that Darius might perish with his whole army; that several among the Greeks were inclined to listen to this proposal, and that it would have been carried into effect, had not Histiaeus and the other Greek generals been tyrants whose rule over the Greeks was

supported by Persia, and who had acquired their throne and power through Persian influence. Those princes accordingly were certain, that if they yielded to the proposal, they themselves would, on their return home, be expelled by their fellow-citizens. We may, therefore, regard it as an historical fact, that the Greeks indeed loosened this bridge of ships but did not destroy it, and restored it when Darius arrived on the banks of the river.

This unsuccessful expedition appears to have brought disgrace upon Darius, but no essential disadvantage. He returned into his country, and as his reign lasted thirty-six years, the internal organization of his empire and the extension of its boundaries, seem, at least partly, to belong to the period following the Scythian expedition.

The Scythians did not, by any means, follow up the advantages of their victory, for they did not cross the Ister. Soon afterwards the Thracian kingdom of the Odrysians rose on the other side of the river, and was hostile to the Scythians, who could then effect nothing. At a later period, however, it would seem that the Scythians spread over the country between the Karassu and the Dobrusha, or the southern mouth of the Danube; and in the time of Philip, the Scythian king Ateas seems to have ruled over that country, but to have been repelled by Philip. When Alexander crossed the Danube, the Scythians were no longer masters there, and their star had gone down everywhere.

Herodotus mentions the nations dwelling above the Scythians, from the Ister to the Tanais, from the Agathyrsi to the Sarmatians. He describes them but partially, by accidental attributes and peculiarities; and it is impossible to discover to what races they belonged. The Agathyrsi, however, who undoubtedly occupied Upper Hungary, may be assumed, with tolerable probability, to have belonged to the race of the Getae; no argument, at least, can be adduced against this supposition. In the Polish Ukraine, Podolia and Brasslaw, we meet with the Neuri, who were, no doubt, a real and distinct people; but when, at a later time, they are mentioned by Scymnus of Chios,[5] they no longer

[5] v. 803, ed. Meineke.

have any real existence. Then we find the man-eaters or Anthropophagi, the black-cloaks or Melanchlaenae, a name strongly reminding us of the names of Tartar nations, which gave such appellations to their tribes, *e.g.*, Karakalpacians or Black-caps, Kisilbashians or Red-heads, and similar others. Next to these come the Geloni, and lastly, in the East, the Sarmatians. All these nations are to us no more than so many names; but it would be most preposterous if we were to doubt the statements of Herodotus, because his account of the marches of the Scythians, and of the manner in which they threw themselves upon the successive tribes until they came to the Agathyrsi, by whom they were repulsed, is not historically correct. This would be altogether wrong. We may consider the ethnography of Herodotus as entirely correct, for he obtained his information respecting those nations among the Greeks on the Euxine, who were well able to give it. It is not impossible that he himself may have seen at Olbia individuals belonging to those nations. Whether there does not occur here and there some strange statements which may be rejected is another question; but this must, at all events, be done with great caution. It is a singular circumstance, and very remarkable, that he speaks of a town, Gelonus, in the country of the Budini, where, according to him, there was a mixed people of Greek and Scythian extraction. It is possible that such a mixed race may have sprung up there, the phenomenon is not impossible, for a Greek colony may at one time have been seized upon by those people, and have been transported into the interior; and such an occurrence would have been quite sufficient to have produced such a result. There exists at present at Pekin, a quarter inhabited by what are called the Albasinians, descendants of a Russian colony, which had been established previous to the time of Peter the Great, under Alexius, on the Amur in Tartary, and consisted of Russians and Cossacks. The Chinese overpowered the place, transported its inhabitants to China, and assigned to them habitations at Pekin, in order that they might have there a colony of Christians and Europeans. They were at first true Russians and Cossacks; they still form a distinct corporation, regard themselves as Christians, and receive their priest from

Russia: but they have become so much mixed with the Chinese, that they have adopted a number of their superstitious customs. In like manner, the Portuguese in India regard themselves as Roman Catholics; but a friend of mine, who was present at one of their marriages, found, to his surprise, that a cock was sacrificed on the occasion. If any one were to remonstrate with them on this account, they would be indignant; and so it is also with the Christians in China. The language of the Albasinians is mixed—a Slavonian jargon interlarded with Chinese words. I am, therefore, far from rejecting the account of the town of Gelonius as a fable; and I quite comprehend the statement of Herodotus, that the language and manners were mixtures of Greek and Scythian; but I do not believe in the great extent which is assigned to that city. When you cause Oriental people to relate to you anything, you will always hear such exaggerations;[6] and the immense circumference of the city of Gelonus may, therefore, be quite false. It is a remarkable historical fact we learn in Herodotus, that the Sauromatae (Sarmatae) still lived on the east of the Tanais; so that they had not yet far advanced. It is quite clear that the Scythians did not belong to the race of the Sarmatae, but it is equally certain and well attested that the Sarmatae are the same as the Slavonians of later times. The name of the Sarmatae disappears, having continued to exist from the days of Herodotus down to the second and third century of our era; nay, Sarmatae are mentioned in the time of Constantine, at the beginning of the fourth century, but afterwards they disappear, and are no longer heard of, except in learned disquisitions; and in their place we find the name Slavini, Slavi, or Anti. The Sarmatae, who, in the time of Herodotus, still dwelt east of the Don, afterwards also are met with on the west of that river; they advance more and more westward, spread themselves abroad, and in proportion as they advance, the Scythians disappear. In the time of Caesar,

[6] "My father used great tact in questioning them; wherever he could not expect a rational answer, he did not ask them anything. An Oriental is never in difficulty about an answer, even if he should say the most absurd thing. Whenever they said anything from their own recollection, it was good."

the Samartae were already on the Danube, and under Augustus they often crossed the river. This is the beginning of the second great migration of nations. The first great Eastern migration, the advance of the Scythians from the East, occurred about Olymp. 20, in the time of the first Lydian kings, when they drove the Cimmerians before them. It may have been a tribe of the same Scythians which invaded Upper Asia and Media, advancing as far as Egypt, and remaining there twenty-eight years.[7] The second great migration then is that of the Sarmatae, who advanced gradually, slowly, and with much difficulty; they met with great obstacles, but in the end succeeded in dispersing and entirely destroying the Scythians. Some remnants of the latter occur even in the reign of Mithridates, but afterwards they disappear altogether. The Sarmatae then rule in those countries, and connected with them are some kindred tribes, such as the Iaxamatae and others.

LECTURE XVIII.

When Darius had returned to his own kingdom by quick marches, and was occupied with the measures necessary to regulate the internal affairs of the state, his generals extended his dominions in the West and in Europe, while, no doubt, others were engaged in the East against India, and in the South against Arabia. Susa is now mentioned as the king's residence, whereas in all the accounts of the reign of Cambyses Ecbatana, the ancient Median city, is always spoken of as the capital. Under Cyrus, neither of them is mentioned, unquestionably because throughout his reign he was engaged elsewhere; but the empire must have had a capital, and I believe that it was Ecbatana. I am of opinion that Susa and its royal magnificence was a creation of Darius Hystaspis, but still Ecbatana was not entirely abandoned by the kings, being their residence during the hot

[7] Compare above, p. 128.

summer months, when Susa was unhealthy. The place which the Greeks call Persepolis, and which in Persian probably bore the name of Pasargada, had no doubt before this time been the summer residence of the kings, as Ecbatana was afterwards. Babylon would have been a very suitable winter residence; but Darius probably did not like to be so far away from the ruling people, which formed the soul of the monarchy, and on whose fidelity he could rely. In Babylon, his own people would have been far outnumbered by the immense native population. After the re-conquest of Babylon, he had ordered its walls to be demolished, and their complete disappearance intimates that they were purposely and carefully pulled down; English travellers have in vain endeavoured to discover traces of them.[1] The moats were probably filled up with the materials. When those countries shall be once thrown open to the learned investigations of Europeans, it will perhaps not be difficult to discover the lines of those walls. Their bricks were no doubt provided with inscriptions just like those from the temple of Belus, so that immense archives of Asiatic history are assuredly still buried there under the earth. Darius, as I have said, founded Susa, and built the palace there (Μεμνόνεια it was called by the Greeks for reasons unknown to us, perhaps in imitation of the palace of Thebes), and it is not improbable that, in his time, being that of the highest prosperity and splendour of Persia, the temples and the palace of Persepolis also were built, of which splendid ruins still exist. "The ruins, in five main groups, stand on large substructions, which are perhaps more ancient than the walls; but all the latter belong to one and the same age, an age in which the arts were highly developed, and Persia was a great empire. The names of Darius and Xerxes, moreover, occur in the inscriptions on those walls."

While Darius thus adorned and strengthened his empire, his

[1] "Whether Darius completely razed the walls to the ground, or took them down only to a certain height, is doubtful, for the expression of Herodotus leaves it very uncertain as to whether he himself still saw the walls or not. It is possible that the Parthian kings completed the demolition when they built Ctesiphon: the canals greatly facilitated the transport of the bricks."—1826.

generals extended it in Europe without proposing to themselves any limits. After his return from the country of the Scythians, the Greek cities in those districts which had submitted to his overwhelming military force, seem to have revolted; the inhabitants of Byzantium at least were then reduced by force of arms; and the conquest of Chalcedon, mentioned by Polyaenus, probably also belongs to that or a somewhat later time, perhaps to the period subsequent to the revolt of Aristagoras, though the account of it contains things which are fabulous. The Persians now extended their sway in Thrace towards the West as far as the river Strymon, and there came in contact with the Paeonians, who, according to Herodotus, the only authority on this point, were a nation foreign to the Thracians. He says, that they belonged to the race of the ancient Teucrians, a statement which must not by any means be rejected. But as regards the Teucrians (Paeonians?) in general, we shall relate (?) the only tradition about their history, assuming this statement respecting their origin. We are inclined to reject as poetical fiction everything connected with Troy. We cannot believe the detail of the poem on the Trojan war and the history of Troy, and cannot possibly conceive the Trojan war of the Iliad, the story of Paris and Menelaus, to be historical, but we must not go so far as to doubt the existence of a nation of Teucrians. Such a conclusion would be just as unfounded and foolish, as if any one—supposing it to be possible for our written history to perish, and the ancient German epics alone to form the source of our knowledge—were to doubt the existence of the Burgundians or Huns, because there exists no other information about them than that contained in the Lay of the Nibelungen, and because that work is a poem. A person arguing in this manner would be acting just as perversely as one wishing to transfer to history all that is there said about Attila and the Huns. The existence of the Burgundians and Huns is a certain fact, and equally certain is it, that the Teucrians of Troy were a very ancient people, possessing a large dominion, the extent of which is estimated, in the catalogue in the second book of the Iliad, to have reached from the Axius and Olympus to the frontiers of Paphlagonia. But it is one thing to believe that the Teucrians were an historical people, which was destroyed by a

catastrophe of which we have no knowledge, that previously they were powerful, and that, through mighty events, they lost that extent of power, which in the Iliad they appear to possess; and another thing to believe that the Paeonians were ἄποικοι of the Teucrians. This latter tradition cannot be believed, if it is meant to say, that they were a colony sent out by the Teucrians into another country. The probable explanation, however, is, that the tradition is only a recollection of the fact that at one time the Teucrians ruled far and wide in those countries, and that the Paeonians were a people belonging to the race of the Teucrians. Such circumstances might easily lead to a belief, that the Paeonians were ἄποικοι of the Teucrians. According to Herodotus, these Paeonians did not occupy an extensive country; they lived along the Strymon, it may be to the distance of a few days' marches into the interior; but beyond this he knows nothing of them. Later writers speak of Paeonians as extending into Pannonia, and I do not see what we can oppose to the assertion of the later Greeks, that the Pannonians belonged to the race of the Paeonians. It is expressed much too positively to allow us to suppose that it was a mere invention or inference from an etymological speculation; the names Pannonia and Paeonia, moreover, do not present so striking a resemblance as to induce a person to seek for etymological identity, unless other proofs of identity existed.

The Persians were tempted by some among the Paeonians themselves to attack them; those Paeonians being ready to lead their own countrymen into slavery, for the purpose of obtaining dominion for themselves. How this was done we will not attempt to inquire; but we cannot doubt that a Persian army, by the command of the king, appeared in those districts, and that the Paeonians experienced the same fate which had been so often inflicted upon others by Eastern kings, as for example, on the Jews by the Assyrians and Babylonians—a fate by which whole nations were driven from their homes, and transplanted into other countries. Such tyrannical measures were of common occurrence in the Persian empire, and there was a peculiar technical expression for them; those who were torn from their country and transferred to another were called ἀνάσπαστοι, and this shows how

common this event must have been. The Paeonians were thus subdued and partly carried away. When this was accomplished, there was but a single mountain on the way to Macedonia.

I shall relate the early history of Macedonia afterwards at the point where Trogus introduced it. At the time of Darius the country was governed by King Amyntas, who was called upon to pay homage to the King of kings. This act performed by princes and nations was of a symbolical nature, like most similar acts in antiquity, and consisted in presenting to the messenger of the great king a clod of their soil and water from their wells. With these symbols of earth and water, they surrendered the land and the source of vegetation, the substratum of life, and the means of living; they surrendered themselves, *divina humanaque omnia.* Amyntas complied with the demand; and the Persian emissaries, who were to take possession of the country, conducted themselves at his court with their usual insolence and tyranny. They indulged in the most wanton insults, and became so intolerable, that Alexander, the heir to the throne, caused them to be murdered. In the East everything can be obtained or settled by means of money, and such was done in this case also; vengeance was warded off by the payment of a large sum.

In this manner, the Persians advanced as far as the borders of Thessaly, but a new satrapy was not established in those countries. The Persians acted in the same way as the Romans. When they had extended their dominion beyond certain boundaries, they did not constitute the newly acquired land as a province, but added it to the adjoining province. Thus the province on the north of the Alps was at first an appendage to that of Liguria, and remained so even when Caesar had added a territory three times as large as the ancient province. It was not till the time of Augustus, that it became a province by itself. Such also was the case with the dominion of the satrap of Sardis; his *imperium* extended as far as the Persian arms could be carried in those countries. But in consideration of the importance and extent of the border province, it was governed by a brother of King Darius. The Greek towns on the European coast as far as Thessaly, were subject to Persia; so also were all the Greek towns on the coast of Asia Minor and in the islands, with the

exception of the Cyclades. On the whole, about one-third of the Greek towns and tribes may at that time have been under Persian dominion. Soon after this, the insurrection of the Ionians in Sardis, broke out, and became the occasion of the wars between Persia and Greece. This leads me to speak of the early history of Greece.

The primordia of Greek history are to us a real chaos. Herodotus, the only one among the extant authors, who touches on this subject, is partly unintelligible in what he says about it; and where this is not the case, his information is so fragmentary and accidental, and he so little intends to write a critical history of the early times, that he creates doubts and uncertainty instead of affording us the means of knowing the history of Greece. The most instructive and important statements on Greek archaeology only occur scattered in the works of many writers, the most instructive of which are perhaps those in Strabo, which are derived from Ephorus.

Before Ephorus, the Greeks had no connected history of their early ages. It is curious to observe how entirely different is the development of the history of Greece from that of Rome, and how the one is, in fact, the reverse of the other. The causes of this are very clear and evident. The history of Rome grew out of annals, which were kept without interruption from the time of the great political revolution, the abolition of royalty; that is to say, there existed such annals, of which the later Roman historians doubtless saw nothing, but which formed the basis of earlier works. From the time of the Gallic conquest, there existed authentic and continuous chronicles, and even earlier ones existed, which, however, were afterwards lost. Along with these there existed a great mass of traditions, and the peculiar aristocratic unity, and long duration of Roman families, led them to keep records of individual families, which, though for the most part fabulous, preserved, nevertheless, many genuine features from very remote periods. When real history began to be written among the Romans, the authors undertook to write the entire history from the foundation of the city in uninterrupted succession. They wrote for definite purposes and for a definite public. Such was the case of Fabius, whose intention it was to lay before

foreigners a clear and complete history of his own nation; and especially to show to them, that from the remotest times the Romans had been a powerful and honorable people. Among the Greeks, the development of history was quite different.

The object of Herodotus is not by any means to write a history of the Greeks from the earliest times; but the real ground-plan of his work is the conflict between Europe and Asia, between the Greeks and the Persians—the Greeks taken in the widest sense of the name, comprising those of Asia; nay, as he proceeds from the latter, the Asiatic Greeks are more prominent in his work than those of Europe. To relate that conflict is his real object, and in his account of it he interweaves the immense stores of his own excellent observations and historical inquiries.[2] Some of these episodes consist of information about the earliest history of Greece, but their number is extremely small. If we except a few isolated remarks on the origin of nations and tribes of the Greek race, etc., he nowhere goes farther back than the time of the later Lydian kings, and in reality scarcely beyond the reign of Croesus. All that lies before that time is not touched upon by him, and nothing is said even of the earlier history of the Asiatic Greeks. He mentions the subjugation of the several towns in Asia by the Lydian king, but the wars of which we learn from other authorities, the wars of the Colophonians and Erythraeans, of the Chalcidians and Eretrians, of the Cretans, the history of the Doric migration to Peloponnesus, the wars of the Doric states with one another, the destruction of Messene, and many other things, are passed over in silence, and no notice is taken of them. Only in a few cases, Herodotus ascends somewhat higher, as in the history of the Cypselids at Corinth, and that of the foundation of Cyrene, for which, however, there are certain reasons. The rest he does not notice, or takes no interest in. In regard to Greece he has no chronology, which in fact he entirely neglects; he had received all his traditions about the Greeks from the λόγιοι: thus, for example, he mentions Cleis-

[2] "The objects of his introducing them are sometimes visible, and sometimes not; in some cases, his intention, no doubt, is to supplant incorrect accounts; thus, for example, he relates the history of Pisistratus with a view to supplant the erroneous reports which had, perhaps, through Hellanicus, become current."—1826.

thenes of Sicyon, but does not inform us on his history and family. His work, therefore, is not an ancient Greek history, but has an epic character; it has a unity amid its episodes, which, as Goethe said, are "retarding motives," and in which he delights.

The question now is, whether there existed previously a work on Greek history to which Herodotus could refer his readers for information on the earliest ages of Greece. I absolutely deny the existence of such a work. All the Greek historians of that time, the logographers, were λογογράφοι, in the true sense of the term, collectors of traditions of the past, which they committed to writing, just as Ranke wrote down the stories of the Serbians. These traditions, however, were not history, but popular and poetical stories, like those of the Sandwich islanders, which have been collected by Mr. Ellis, a missionary, or like the stories recorded by the first Mexican Christians. Such were the logographers; their works were written in prose, but either set out from Theogonies, as that of Hesiod, and other similar works, or they themselves contained the substance of epic poems. They were altogether genealogical, and moved in a world of legends.[3]

The first real and true historian, according to our notion, was Thucydides: as he is the most perfect historian among all that have ever written, so he is at the same time the first: he is the Homer of historians. It is surprising to find that he evidently presupposes the existence of an annalistic history. He relates everything with its precise date, and marks the succession of events by distinct numbers. He says, e.g., the first galley was built so many years before the war; and he mentions the precise

[3] "They contained the genealogy from Uranos and Chaos down to the γένη of the historic age. In the early times, the princes, and afterwards the great aristocratic families, traced their pedigrees to heroes, and, through them, to the gods, just as the northern kings traced theirs to Odin. It is a complete misconception of the idea of history, to call Pherecydes of Syros and Acusilaus historians. The first real historian was Hecataeus, son of Hegesander, of Miletus, who was a man of mature age in Olymp. 70. But what he had written was uncertain even in antiquity, because there were several writers of the same name belonging to Eretria, Abdera, and Teos. But it is probable that he spoke of the history of Greece only by the way."—1826.

dates of the foundations of the Sicilian towns; and when he speaks in this positive manner, it requires no assurance that he does not do so carelessly, but that he acted with caution, and after careful examination: he considered his information to be authentic, and he thought it unnecessary to do more than to make it known. He may accordingly have erred, and may have met with erroneous chronological statements; but it is inconceivable, that he should anywhere have taken up and published mere fancies. The simple fact of his giving the dates, proves, not indeed that there was a literature, but certainly that there must have been tables on which the events of Greek history were recorded. But how far back they went, or where they commenced, is quite a different question. This much we clearly see, that they do not go further back than the beginning of the Olympiads, and that they go beyond that epoch only in reference to the immigration of the Siculi into Sicily; but this is a statement which Thucydides does not vouch for, and which is manifestly of a vague character. So far as he speaks positively, there must have existed annalistic tables, the authenticity of which I cannot allow to be attacked, bearing in mind, at the same time, the weakness, imperfection, and instability of all human affairs. They are, moreover, so much more recent than the annals of the East, that there is no reason for supposing that there was anything which might render their existence impossible.

As far back as the beginning of the Olympiads, Thucydides speaks with confidence; but of the earliest times, and of all that precedes the Trojan period, he evidently speaks with uncertainty. In regard to the Trojan period, he follows Homer alone, and uses the expression φαίνεται, without distinctly intimating his own belief. He assumes the Trojan war as an event, which he cannot reduce to an historical basis, but without rejecting it, he allows it to stand on its own ground. He believes in the expedition of the Greeks against Troy, and perhaps does so more positively than we can do; so that his judgment was biassed and influenced by the prevailing opinion, or he did not venture publicly to propound his own views respecting the reality of that event, as his contemporaries would not have tolerated his publicly expressing his doubts concerning it. But it is at all events certain, that he

leaves that period quite undefined; he draws his conclusions as to the causes by which the war was so long protracted, as to its consequences, the number of the Greek army, and the mode of transporting it—as to all these things he draws his conclusions from the statements of the Homeric poems, which he treats as absolute truths; and it may be that for this belief he did not like to take himself too strictly to task. About the occurrences of the intermediate period, the Doric migration and the like, he says nothing, any more than about the history of Attica and its great changes. He assumes that the Athenians were an original people, and this he believes on their own assertion. He does not, on the other hand, inform us as to how far he attaches a distinct importance to the period between the Trojan war and the commencement of the Olympiads, which forms the remotest point to which his history ascends.

LECTURE XIX.

After Thucydides, rather more than a generation passed away, during which no one wrote on the subject of early history. Ephorus of Cuma is the founder of general Greek history, and in this respect he is extremely remarkable. Previously to his time, a really comprehensive history of Greece did not exist, and he was the first who conceived the idea of writing the entire history, so far as it could be regarded as historical, down to his own time. He did not, however, comprise in it the earliest times; it began with the return of the Heracleids; an expression which had become established, and, as it were, technical, to designate the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians; and he brought down the history to Olymp. 109, the year in which the siege of Perinthus was raised, and Philip was compelled to depart. The whole work consisted of thirty books.

Ephorus, the son of Demophilus of Cuma, in Asia Minor, "who afterwards lived at Athens until his death," was one of

the disciples of Isocrates, and a contemporary and fellow-disciple of Theopompus of Chios; but he was in every respect the very opposite of Theopompus. Those who regarded history as a part of rhetoric, were perhaps justified in not attaching any great importance to Ephorus. He indeed did not at all belong to those authors who may be censured for want of taste, for affectation and mannerism, but he was by no means distinguished as a writer, and his narrative seems to have been uncommonly simple. But the loss of his work is without any doubt the greatest that has been sustained by the student of ancient history; all that we know of it confirms the reputation which the author enjoyed in antiquity for his unusual industry, and for the possession of extensive information. His history seems to have contained a richer store of facts and information than any other, so that we cannot help being astonished at the little use which later historians made of his work, and the careless manner in which they treated it. This history never took the position which it deserved, and is an example of unjust neglect. The statements which Strabo, a man of very sound judgment and great intelligence, quotes from Ephorus, and of which not a trace occurs in the other authors, are of the greatest importance, and show us the extraordinary value and richness of his history. All of them are so well authenticated, and some of them are so striking, that we can hardly console ourselves for his loss, and for the loose and careless manner in which subsequent writers have availed themselves of his treasures. Pausanias, who had so many opportunities of doing so, as he introduces so many episodes on ancient history, scarcely made any use of Ephorus, though he had read him. If he had availed himself of his assistance, how much light and certainty should we now possess on questions in regard to which he leaves us in error and uncertainty, and about which he himself is in the greatest perplexity! From the statements quoted by Strabo respecting the ancient condition of the Doric states in Peloponnesus, we can have no doubt, that Ephorus gave a true history, though it may have been very brief, of the Messenian war; whereas Pausanias dwells upon the untenable fables and the poems of Rhianus on that war. Judging from the compass of the separate books of his work, he must have recorded much and made many investi-

gations into ancient history; but I am convinced that he said little or nothing about those periods, concerning which little or nothing could be known.

It lies in the nature of things that the Greeks of that age zealously traced their ancient history, while previously they had neglected it, or been indifferent towards it; for they could not conceal from themselves the fact that their history had come to a close, and that the rising star of Macedonian greatness was beginning to eclipse the star of Athens and Greece, and that the brilliancy of Greek history was hastening towards its end. They saw that poetry, the loveliest flower of the Greek mind, had already disappeared and decayed; many parts of Greece, once the most flourishing, such as Asiatic Greece, and in the West Magna Graecia and Sicily, had already become desolate: the period was already one of complete decay, and the shades of evening had fallen upon Greece. These circumstances led the Greeks to write the entire history of their country. In the time of Herodotus, on the other hand, when they were conscious of their rising greatness, when they felt that all was progressing, they dwelt less on the past, and directed their attention to the glorious present. The idea of bringing the history to a close, and of treating it as a unity, could then not occur to them. But now the downfall of Greece became more and more manifest, the actual state of things was deplorable, and Greek history began to be written in two different directions.

By the one of them, the histories of Ephorus and Callisthenes were regarded as the bases; and these were continued by attaching to them contemporary history. This process was carried on progressively, and from that time till the age of Caesar, Greek history was continued from one work to another; while occasionally there appeared several continuations for the same period. The whole series of such continuations may be traced in the statements of Diodorus of Sicily. Ephorus was continued by his son Demophilus, who was succeeded by Diyllus, who wrote the history down to Pyrrhus; then came Psaon of Plataeae, but we do not know how far his work extended. Their books are no longer a history of the Greeks, but of

Alexander and his successors. Psaon is extremely careless, and cannot even write his own language correctly; Diyllus is a little better. It was before Olymp. 140, that Polybius published his two great works; he, however, did not connect his work with that succession of authors, but rather with the history of Timaeus, so far as the western world was concerned; and with the memoirs of his dear friend Aratus, in what related to the East. But although he does not belong to that διαδοχὴ or κύκλος, yet in point of fact he got its character. After him there followed Posidonius. Thus there was gradually formed a whole body of Greek history, in which there was no gap; many particular periods had been worked out completely by separate authors, and even Philochorus must be regarded as a continuation of Ephorus.

Ephorus was the first who, as is expressly attested, searched for historical documents and monuments. It is strange that before him no one had thought of doing so; for there existed in Greece such an immense mass of public historical monuments as were found at no time in any other part of the world. Many thousands of psephismata were deposited in the Acropolis at Athens; they formed archives which in a measure were open to the inspection of everybody, but which, for this very reason, no one paid any attention to. Ephorus set the first example of a history drawn from documents; and soon after his time this study was prosecuted at Athens with particular zeal. He drew up Fasti of the archons, and thus became the first chronologer of Attic history; though he himself did little in this respect, and does not seem to have considered chronology as a main part of his work. But Demetrius availed himself of his dictatorship at Athens, for the purpose of writing a history of Athens in two books; he carefully made out the authentic succession of the Athenian archons, although he too did correct the history according to it. All that we know of him, and it is but very little, is always equally instructive and excellent. He wrote about Olymp. 119. After Demetrius Phalereus, who may be considered to have opened this new career, a critical treatment of Athenian history began to be developed, and made steady progress. This was especially the period in which erudi-

tion sprang up, and the historians henceforth were men of learning, who enquired into history for the sake of knowledge. The first who produced a complete and independent work of this kind was Philochorus, a wonderful saint, a μάντις, an interpreter of dreams, and a mystic. He was a priest at Athens, and displayed his priestly character in a manner which, at that time, was very surprising, but which much resembled that displayed by the New Platonists, in the third century of our era. He also assumed a political character, acted the part of a patriot, and in the unfortunate war which the Athenians carried on against Antigonus Gonatas, he must have been at the head of a party.[1] About ten years after Demetrius, he wrote an Atthis (there is a very useful collection of its fragments by Siebelis) in which he gave a history of Athens, and which, as far as the authentic documents went, may be considered to have been a trustworthy account, compiled with great diligence. His successor, Androtion, is indeed referred to almost as often as Philochorus, but we know little of him, or of the time at which he lived; and it is only probable that he was the successor of Philochorus.[2] The writers of Atthides certainly did not work as judiciously as Ephorus, who confined himself to the historical periods, and commenced with them; whereas they, no doubt, took in the earliest times also, as they are quoted by the grammarians as authorities for ancient genealogies and mythical occurrences; but this may perhaps be only a species of affectation in the ancients. How far Philochorus went in this respect, and how far he assigned to the earliest ages the character of history, we know not; but we may conjecture that much of what

[1] "G. J. Vossius, in his work *De Historicis Graecis* (i. 18), a very meritorious work, but of which not even the last edition is free from mistakes, places him under Ptolemy Philometer, in the middle of the sixth century, after the building of Rome, or even much later. But he must be referred to the reign of Antiochus Soter, as is clear from a fragment quoted by Dionysius, according to which he must have lived in the fifth century of Rome, about Olymp. 120."—1826.

[2] "Even without any further proof, I believe him to be younger than Philochorus: he is always classed in the second rank, and it seems that he supplanted Philochorus."—1826.

is apparently positive and historical in the most remote times, or what, at least, is so represented in modern works on history, must be traced to the authors of those Atthides.

About five or six Olympiads after Philochorus, Eratosthenes the great philologer (the first who is designated by the name of grammarian) and geographer, wrote chronological tables under the title χρονικὸς κανών. From the time of Ephorus there is manifested more and more a desire of a definite chronological system, which in the time of Herodotus did not exist at all, for he was satisfied with indefinite and vague statements. If proof were required to show that the so-called life of Homer, which is ascribed in many manuscripts to Herodotus, is not his work, but the work of any one else rather than him, the definiteness of its chronology would be sufficient evidence of this. As that life contains very great discrepancies from the statements of Herodotus himself,[3] its author cannot have had the intention to deceive. The work belongs to the Alexandrian period; and I am inclined to believe that it was written about the time of Aristarchus, though he had nothing whatever to do with it. It is the historical character peculiar to that age which I recognise in it. In contrast with Herodotus and his age, great care was then bestowed upon chronology. It cannot belong to a later period; it is certainly an ancient production, and belongs to a time when the criticism of, and the occupation with Homer, were general and predominant, as was the case among the Alexandrians down to the seventh century after the foundation of Rome. It is probably the work of some Asiatic Greek of the school of Pergamus.

Eratosthenes, as I have said, wrote chronological tables, and in them he went back at least as far as the Trojan war, and the destruction of Troy. They belonged to the class of works which form an epoch in literature. It has often happened that, when distinguished men, or even such as were believed to be distinguished without being so, accomplished a work which met with general favour, their combinations in the course of time became established as undoubted truth; and such also was the case with

[3] This passage could not be restored with certainty.—Ed.

the chronology of Eratosthenes. It met with unconditional belief; and there is not an historical philologer who does not avail himself of it as a useful form, although he knows that it is not unassailable. This great chronological development exercised its influence, for example, also upon Timaeus of Agrigentum, who lived at Athens, became quite an Athenian in all his manners and ways, and died at Athens at an advanced age. He had treated the history of Italy and Sicily altogether chronologically,[4] and Eratosthenes, no doubt, had this work before him.

Eratosthenes carefully distinguished between the obscure mythical and the historical periods; and this distinction, for which there is very good reason, was certainly applied by him in the right way. But not so by others, as for example, by Varro, who, indeed, worked with great care, but had not sufficient judgment in discriminating that which belonged to the different periods; and if such distinctions do not fall into proper hands, they become the source of great errors. In contrasting the χρόνος ἄδηλος and μυθικὸς with the χρόνος ἱστορικὸς, we must be greatly on our guard against mistakes, for the natural tendency is at once to regard the χρόνος ἱστορικὸς as quite certain. Thus people imagine that from the Doric migration Greek history is altogether authentic, and well established, because it belongs to the χρόνος ἱστορικὸς; that there are indeed few occurrences on record, but that they are really historical. This is a great mistake. There are certain points within the χρόνος μυθικὸς, which can be proved to be true by most satisfactory evidence; while there are statements belonging to the χρόνος ἱστορικὸς, which deserve no credit at all. The mere convenience of having a formula, therefore, is of little use, unless each separate case be examined and weighed.

It is a characteristic feature of this period, that a collection of psephismata was now made at Athens, the preservation of which would have been invaluable to us. Athens, in its own way, was still the seat of learning and knowledge down to the

[4] "According to the expression of the ancients, he seems to have written a general history. In all my researches I have not been able to arrive at a positive result; but I think it probable that he wrote only Italiot and Siceliot histories; other histories were, perhaps, inserted as episodes."—1826.

time of Antigonus Gonatas; but after its capture by him, everything was at an end. I have, on another occasion, mentioned, in all seriousness, the vision of Philemon:[5] it is the dying out of Athens at its capture by Antigonus Gonatas. It is indeed surprising! Until then life and spirit had continued to manifest themselves; and the time had been like a beautiful autumnal day; but now winter suddenly commenced and did not cease, just as it is intimated by the vision of Philemon. The collection I mentioned before, and which belongs to an earlier period, was the work of a foreigner, who, however, cherished an affection for Athens, and who is ennobled by this affection, just because we have least reason to expect it in him. Its author was the Macedonian Craterus, the elder step-brother of King Antigonus Gonatas, and the son of a great general, the excellent Craterus, who is justly exempted from the well-deserved hatred felt towards the Macedonians, as is also the no less excellent Phila, the mother of Antigonus: these are names which must be mentioned with real esteem and affection. Young Craterus had inherited a noble spirit, which manifested itself in his affection for Athens. He copied for himself the laws and psephismata, and thus made a collection of documents for an authentic history.[6] I mention this only by the way, for the collection referred to later times, and not to what I have here in view, namely, the early history of Greece, which, of course, the work of Craterus did not embrace. It is sad to think that such materials existed, and that nevertheless such wretched things were written about ancient times as we see in Pausanias.

About 400 years after Eratosthenes, who had, in fact, already established his chronology so firmly that it was afterwards implicitly believed, there appeared Apollodorus of Athens, who lived either at Alexandria or at Pergamus, or at each place alternately, and belonged to the grammatical school of Pergamus. He executed a work on a plan which already displayed the miserable decay of literature at that time, for he wrote a chronicle in three books, "based upon the tables of Eratosthenes, rather

[5] See *Lectures on the History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 58, note 31.

[6] *Klein. Schrift.*, vol. i. p. 295.

than on his own investigations:" it was composed in iambic verse, and he had recourse to all kinds of artifices to get in the dates. Whether he composed his work with the view that it should be committed to memory, we know not; but what sort of a chronicle it was, we can best learn from the geography of Scymnus of Chios, who, I am convinced, imitated Apollodorus. "His versification was of that degenerate kind which we find in the later comedy; and the work exercised an influence which extended over all succeeding generations, without men being conscious of it. A great deal of his work has been transferred into the chronicle of Eusebius and much also was adopted by Suidas." This Apollodorus did not observe the distinction which Eratosthenes had wisely drawn between the different ages; and he no longer separated the ancient mythical ages from the later historical ones. From his time, I date the mixing up of what is mythical with history; and this entirely uncritical and irrational combination of the stories of the mythical ages with history henceforth becomes more and more the established practice. We may conclude with certainty that, as one chronological work was based upon another, so his successors, Thallus, Castor, and others, carried the absurd system further and further; it was, perhaps, done even by Alexander of Miletus, who is known under the name of Alexander Polyhistor, though I do not like positively to accuse him of it, as his interest in Asiatic history, perhaps, prevented him from indulging in the practice. But it is at least certain, that he evinced very little judgment in the manner in which he occupied himself with the chronological tables of the Alban kings.

This is the account of the manner in which the primordia of Greek history were treated. You see at how late a period the earliest ages of Greece were drawn into the domain of history. For the ancient times there existed old unauthenticated chronological statements, of which Thucydides in particular availed himself. Ephorus, about the time of Alexander, first wrote the earliest history of Greece from documents. As Herodotus imagined that the migration of the Dorians into Peloponnesus happened about 800 years before his time, Ephorus apparently wrote about 875 years after that event. If we take the annals of the Frankish kings, we shall find that they mention the date

of the birth of Charlemagne, and his accession, but their accounts are extremely meagre. However, these ancient records are still extant complete, having been printed about 300 years ago; and they furnish us a skeleton of history. Such things may have existed in the time of Thucydides, only with this disadvantage, that in Greece there did not exist any dynasty to which everything could be referred; nor did an era like that of the birth of Christ facilitate and simplify chronology. In Greece things were different in different places, in different countries, and at different times. At Athens records might have been kept from an earlier or a later date than, *e. g.* at Argos; nay, in many parts they could not have been preserved at all. But the early or mythical ages lived in epic poetry, the origin of which we cannot determine.

LECTURE XX.

In considering the question as to the antiquity of Greek history, it is not of so much consequence to determine how old the written historical literature is, as to know how old the genuine historical records are; and this question cannot be decided without inquiring into the beginning of the art of writing. This question acquired great celebrity some thirty years ago, in consequence of the investigations of the great Fred. Aug. Wolf. That great man, who raised this question in reference to the antiquity of the Homeric poems, has indeed handled it in a manner worthy of his genius, which no one can deny him; but he has nevertheless formed only a one-sided view of it. The charm of the first impression has now passed away; and the question can be examined without any bias, even though it may be done by men, who cannot be compared to Wolf. There can be no doubt that time will produce a mean result. The fact that Wolf investigated the antiquity of the art of writing among the Greeks quite independently of the art in the East, was one of those one-

sided proceedings into which we sometimes irresistibly fall, if from our own point of view we inquire deeply into a particular subject; it is also possible that he was influenced by a prejudice which had before arisen, and maintained its ground for some time after—I mean the prejudice against the high antiquity of writings in the East, and especially of the books of the Old Testament. But, however this may have been, he considers the Greeks in those early times as far too independent of all relations with the East. Admitting that, on the other hand, intolerable abuse has been made of the influence exercised upon the Greeks by the eastern nations, yet Wolf too much ignores the fact that relations did exist between Greece and the East, and that, though afterwards they were independent, in earlier times the Greeks were influenced and instructed by eastern nations.

Since the attention of Europe has been directed to the very ancient monuments of the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt—since in them we undeniably recognise a kind of writing which is far older than the time assigned to Homer, and is at least contemporaneous with the period fixed by the Greeks as that of the Trojan war, though probably still older—since we see that writing on stones, and find documents extending as far back as that period—since these things have become known, I say, there can be no question, that the art of writing was then as widely diffused among the Egyptians as in later times. We may suppose, with certainty, that the same was the case among the Babylonians and Phoenicians, although we have no such ancient monuments of either, and of the latter scarcely any remnants at all. I have already spoken of the connexion between the writing of the Phoenicians and Egyptians. As Cadmus unquestionably introduced writing into Greece,[1] I cannot possibly doubt, that the art of writing

[1] "We need not doubt the statement of the ancients, that the Greeks had two kinds of writing, the Cadmean and the Pelasgian; the latter is the same as the ancient Italian, which we find on coins of Rhegium, Messana, Gela, and Syracuse. It had, likewise, been formed from the Phoenician, but with this remarkable difference, that it was always written from left to right, while the Cadmean, even at a late period, was written from right to left. When we are told that Damaratus introduced writing into Etruria, it only means that the Tyrrhenians adopted the Cadmean writing in place of the ancient Pelasgian."—1826.

was known to the Greeks at the time which we call that of the Trojan war. But it is another question, as to whether it was as extensively diffused in Greece as in Egypt, or as it was in later times. It was unquestionably not so widely spread, if for no other reason than on account of the greater costliness of the writing material. It was, indeed, far more difficult at that time to obtain the papyrus: but it is not right to deny that Greece, in very remote times, received it from Egypt, because before Psammetichus the Greeks had no intercourse with that country. It is not at all certain that Egypt was closed during the period when its kings ruled far and wide. The commercial restrictions which Psammetichus removed cannot have existed longer than a few generations before him, and was, perhaps, not even general, but only an arrangement made as a privilege to benefit the Phoenicians. The Egyptians, perhaps, at first dreaded the Greeks, when they settled on all the coasts in the vicinity of Egypt, as in Cyprus and Cyrene, just as the English were dreaded in India: of the Phoenicians they did not, of course, entertain any such fear; and it is therefore very probable, that the Egyptians excluded only the Greeks, but not the Phoenicians, with whom they could keep up their intercourse by land through Syria. The Greeks, therefore, had opportunities of obtaining papyrus through the Phoenicians; and the Egyptian restrictions on commerce do not prove that papyrus was not used by the Greeks at a very early period, and continued to be used by them. And, in addition to this, there were other materials to write upon, such as skins. The Romans wrote their ancient annals on whitened tables, and set them up in public, and the Greeks may have done similar things. I will not, however, lay much stress upon this; for although λευκώματα do occur among the Greeks, as *tabulae albae* among the Romans, yet I do not know of an example of their having been used for annals. Polybius, however, compares the annalistic records of the Romans with other records of annals, etc., which were painted on the walls of Greek temples, and were called ἐπιγράμματα. The walls, therefore, were perhaps whitened, or they resembled those of the Egyptian temples, where inscriptions, in a red colour, are painted on the walls, and are still seen after the lapse of more

than two thousand years. Every nation that lives under a developed and regular civil constitution—and the Greeks undeniably lived so from time immemorial—must feel the practical necessity of recording changes, and preserving the facts of the past. Hence there can be no doubt that it was in Greece as at Rome, and such records assuredly existed from time immemorial. But in the course of time, these records lost their interest, and the walls which were covered with them were, no doubt, painted over, to make room for a new series of records. That there were no historical works, is as natural in Greece as it was in the earlier periods of the middle ages: people lived onward, without looking backwards; or when they did look backwards, they did so only through the medium of traditional and poetical tales. They delighted in going back to times when a poetical order of things was believed to have existed—when the gods frequented the earth, and lived in close intimacy with mortals —when the latter were conceived to have led a delightful life, which was far more worth enjoying than that of the actual world; but to investigate a kind of life such as they themselves led had no interest for them. "Contemporary history is never written in the poetic age of a nation; at a time when each one is acting and creating, and is contemplating only in the regions of fantasy and imagination, every-day occurrences are quite indifferent to him. Great exploits of heroism are alone celebrated in song. When there is a literature, it is the work of a few individuals who are more contemplative, or if I may venture to say so, more idle. Thus the Italian cities, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when all of them were thriving and flourishing, made no records whatever; and it was not till they began to stand still that chronicles were commenced. Such was the case in Suli, down to the history of Perrhaenos."

At the time when reflection and thought become prominent, there are found two sources from which the sentiments of preceding generations may be discovered, viz., chronological records and traditions.

We may form a tolerably correct notion of the nature of the chronological records in Greece, from the annals which we possess of the later periods of the Merovingian kings, and the

first of the Carlovingian dynasty. We there find nearly two centuries, during which history was kept in remembrance, precisely in the same manner as in ancient times; and our information regarding our own ancient history would be quite the same, did we not, in addition to those scanty records of chronicles, possess documents, and some contemporary authors who enable us to fill up those meagre formulae, and give life to the period. But if we had nothing beyond the annals of Prüm, St. Bertin, and the like, we should know little, or nothing at all; for they merely contain the information, that in such or such a year this or that thing happened. But how far such records went back, or where they commenced, cannot be ascertained;[2] we can only ask, from what time were they well preserved? And to this question we can only answer, that certainly they were preserved in different places in a different manner. In most places they were preserved down to the time of Ephorus; but for those who did not know how to avail themselves of them, they did not exist at all.

The second source of history consists of legends or poetical traditions. They developed themselves in Greece principally in the form of epic poetry, and were preserved in it. Epic poetry chiefly embraced the periods which lie beyond history, and belong to the mythical ages;[3] in it there was a constant

[2] "It is not improbable that at Athens there may have been records even of the last kings and of the archons for life; their names at least do not appear to be fictitious, like those which strike us at once in so many myths. For when a poet wants a name, he invents one, acting on certain considerations. This subject has been very ingeniously discussed by Hermann in his investigations on the Theogony of Hesiod. The priestesses of Hera at Argos appear likewise to have been recorded."—1826.

[3] "This is in accordance with the nature of things; for a mythus alone can constitute a great epic poem. Single historical facts may be related in the same poetical manner, but not a whole history. No subject is ripe for epic poetry, which has not in the course of time become quite familiar to the people; the poet must not be obliged to make long preparations, or write introductions to his several characters; they must come in at once known to the reader. Thus the heroes of the Iliad were generally known, and there was no need for describing them. The whole of the poem, as well as its details, must be national. The same principles apply to trage-

process of change: some things were added, others were taken away, and this incessant development, and this creative and ever-active life of epic poetry lasted till about the fiftieth Olympiad. The poems of Rhianus belong to a much later, though an analogous period; for he composed a poem on the second Messenian war from Messenian stories and popular traditions, just as if it had been a story of the most ancient times. A happier idea could not have been conceived, nor a better subject chosen; for the more ancient times had been exhausted. Rhianus must have been a great poet; even the mere sketch of the substance of his poem, which is preserved in Pausanias, incontrovertibly shows his greatness.

"When epic poetry had disappeared, the traditions were handed down in a different manner, by the λόγιοι, who are often mentioned by Aristotle. Such storytellers are still common in the East; they relate their stories, and always name the person who has handed them down,—the filiation of tradition.[4] This kind of history cannot possibly remain faithful, for even in spite of the wish to tell the truth, the story must undergo a change in the mouth of each different narrator. Such also must have been the case with the λόγιοι. Among the traditions we must also mention the accounts of the origin of the colonies from their mother cities, and of the νόμιμα transferred to them."

All that belongs to the period previous to the Doric migration, and that is related as historical, must be separated from history. Many of the things which are reported respecting the Greek tribes and their changes, may indeed be considered as certain and historical; but all that appears in the form of genealogies, and whatever has been derived from and wrought out of them

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dy, and here lies the difference between the ancient and Shakespearian drama. Before the development of the separate ἔπη, the Greeks had their κύκλος ἐπῶν; from this κύκλος the poet selected particular groups, and worked them out in the most perfect manner; *medias rapit in res!* Thus out of the Nibelungen, poems might be made approaching still nearer to the Iliad than the Nibelungen itself does."—1826.

[4] See, however, Niebuhr's Preface to his translation of El Wakedi, p. xx.—Ed.

under the name of history, is delusive, and must not in any way be mistaken for history. There can be no doubt that the traditions of the earliest ages contain some undefinable historical germs, but that is all; and those germs occur only in the smaller portion; in most cases they do not exist at all. But while I completely deny a historical character to the early ages, pray do not invert my proposition so as to believe that the times subsequent to the migration of the Heracleids are altogether historical. Let me explain my meaning by an example: the later period begins with the migration of the Heracleids in the fourth generation after Heracles; the migration was preceded by the unsuccessful attempts of Hyllus, etc. This migration, therefore, is connected with Heracles, who is absolutely a mythical being, much more strikingly so, for example, than the Atreidae. No one will consider the eternal youth of Helen to be historical, but the expedition of the Atreidae against Troy, their return, and the death of Agamemnon, cannot, in themselves, be declared unhistorical. The story of Heracles, on the other hand, belongs altogether to a different world, to an age of gods and miracles, although genealogically it is put in very close connection with the Trojan war. We must assert, unconditionally, that the conception of a Heracles points to a much more remote period than that of the Atreidae. Now the leaders of the Dorians are only removed from him by four generations,—from that Heracles who is conceived as the ancestor of the Lydian kings, and appears in such a variety of relations.

We have here come to a point at which I will lay before you a general principle of historical criticism. The more recent the narratives of our authorities are, the more positive in their manner of speaking; and the more ancient they are, the fuller they are of contradictions. The uniformity and harmony in the traditions of a later time, are delusions, and arise from the simple fact, that only one narrative has become established, to the exclusion of all the others which have been suppressed. This is one of the first axioms of historical criticism. There are many *rationes* of it, but they cannot be taught, because they require a peculiar tact; nevertheless there are certain maxims. Another such axiom is: when history begins to be written, it

commonly enlarges a great deal too much in the legendary periods; for otherwise, that which lies at a distance would seem to approach too near to our eyes; hence the events are separated from one another by much larger spaces of time than they actually require for their development.

In the accounts of the settlement of the Heracleids in Peloponnesus, everything is of a poetical origin. You may regard, as the source of these traditions, the 'Naupactia,' an ancient poem, belonging to the period of epic poetry, when poems had not as yet the name of an author affixed to them, but were common property. It did not belong to those poems which, in a narrower sense, are called cyclic, but in its peculiar way it certainly belonged to that class. While the cyclic poems referred to the bygone ante-Hellenic world, the world of the Achaeans and Danai, the Naupactia stood at the head of the few poems treating of the Hellenic age and race. But there was more than one source of the traditions. We may take, as an example, the stories about the royal family at Sparta. A fragment of Alcaeus[5] shows that, according to one tradition, Aristodemus was conceived as ruling at Sparta—Herodotus also entertains this view—and that he was succeeded by two sons, under a guardian. Others represent him as having died on his expedition to Sparta, which accordingly he did not reach. His sons, therefore, it is said, conquered the kingdom for themselves; others again relate that Eurysthenes and Procles took the kingdom of Sparta because they were the heirs of Aristodemus. But the object of all the traditions is to show how the double kingdom of Sparta ought to be accounted for (I shall bye and bye speak to you about its real nature), and the attempt to explain that fact gave rise to the invention of an historical fiction. Other instances of complete vagueness in ancient history are of frequent occurrence, and of different kinds, as for example, in the history of Lycurgus. If there had been a traditional history of Sparta, it could, assuredly, not have left the Spartan lawgiver in vague uncertainty; but as matters now are there exist the most different stories about him. According to some he himself was king,[6] and by others he has been placed in

[5] *Fragm.* 28, ed. Gaisford.

[6] Suidas, *s. v.*; Justin, iii. 2.

different times, under different circumstances, and under quite different kings; while the institution of the ephoralty was ascribed by some to Lycurgus, and by others to Theopompus. The Messenian wars were assigned to quite different periods; in regard to the second of them, on account of its connection with the town of Zankle, the difference amounts to no less than one hundred and fifty years. The Olympiads, which afforded a regulator of Greek chronology, ought, for this reason, to have been most authentic; and yet we find a twofold statement respecting their commencement, according to which they were regarded as having been instituted twice. With this I will connect another reflection of historical criticism; whenever one and the same thing occurs twice, there is always the greatest probability, or indeed, we may almost declare without hesitation, that we have before us only two different systems of chronology, two different accounts of an event of uncertain date, so that either both are vague and uncertain, or in the one case the date is certain and established, while the other is only traditional. According to ancient tradition, Lycurgus was the founder of the Olympian games, as an Amphictyonic festival of the Doric inhabitants of Peloponnesus. But when Eratosthenes calculated the time of the Spartan kings, he did so according to their lists, and according to generations, because the years of their reigns were not known, and Lycurgus was thus put too early. Difficulties such as these, which Eratosthenes saw quite clearly, but could not remove, were settled without much scruple by later chronologers. Now the reigns of all the Spartan kings are stated in figures by Alexander of Miletus in Eusebius; but did those men know them better than Eratosthenes of old? As Alexander knew the kings of Alba, of whom nobody else knew anything—Eratosthenes reckoned 430 years from the destruction of Troy to that of Alba, and this period was filled up by Alexander with names of kings—precisely in the same manner he made up the lists of the Spartan kings, only with this exception, that the latter were not, like those of Alba, invented to fill up a period, but their names were certainly traditional; the dates only were invented, and a short reign was assigned to one king, and a long one to another. His mode of proceeding resembled that of the

men who, from the Icelandic traditions, determined the reigns of the Danish and Swedish kings, and in the distribution of time assigned to one king 134 years. Of this we have, in every respect, an example in Lycurgus: first, in his relation to the Olympiads, as the time in which he is placed must be put back (?) one hundred years; and next, in the complete uncertainty respecting him; whence we see that Lycurgus does not at all belong to history. There existed, no doubt, at Sparta, a later lawgiver of the name of Lycurgus, to whom that city owed its εὐνομία; who would doubt this? But the constitution and the laws of Sparta must not be referred to Sparta alone; they must be regarded as a general Doric inheritance, not devised by any individual, a fact which even the ancients themselves recognised. Similar cases are found in the history of Attica.

Many things, even such as belong to a later period, are fabrications; national vanity has often been guilty of falsification; as, for example, the Ionic migration into Attica, which is described as being a friendly reception of exiles, although it is quite certain that the Ionians took possession of Attica by force of arms. In like manner, the emigrations of the Athenians into Asia, that under Neleus, as well as that under Penthilus, cannot be regarded as historical. All these traditions and stories have an unmistakable origin; and in several of them we can say with incontrovertible evidence, why they were invented; and where this is not possible, we may conjecture it with great probability from analogous cases.

If we compare the relative amount and substance of what is historical in the ancient Greek and Roman histories, the result cannot here be reduced to a simple formula. On the one hand, we have contemporary historians, about 200 years before the Romans began to write the history of their own time: Herodotus, in reality, did not write the history of his own time, but of a period which lay sixty years before it; Thucydides wrote about 200 years before Fabius, but the difference between the value of the two is as enormous as that between the Iliad and Voltaire's Henriade. From that time onward, both the Greeks and Romans continued to write contemporary history; but all the first Roman historians are lost to us; we have only Livy and Dionysius, who

200 years after Fabius again wrote about the same ancient times. We are, therefore, much at a loss in regard to Roman history. More than a hundred years before Fabius, Ephorus inquired into Greek antiquity, examining documents, chronicles, records and monuments, and composed a history, of which at least some parts have come down to us in an indirect way. A few ancient Romans, it is true, likewise searched among documents, but very little of their investigations has come down to us. Roman history, therefore, when compared with that of Greeee, is of very recent date in point of age, criticism and spirit, and labours under a very great disadvantage. But does it follow from this that, if we go back an equal period beyond Ephorus and Fabius, Greek history will be equally authentic as the Roman? Between the secession of the plebs and the time when Fabius wrote, about 300 years had elapsed: and do we find the same authenticity in Greek history 300 years before Ephorus? The examination of this question would require a long discussion.

LECTURE XXI.

If we had Ephorus and the tables of Eratosthenes, but especially the latter, I would not hesitate to answer that question in the affirmative, and to say, that in Greece we can ascend with an authentic annalistic history even higher than in Rome. It cannot be supposed that the Greek writers availed themselves of less trustworthy statements from annals referring to the preceding period than the Roman historians. Those who had such skeletons before them (for what had come down to Ephorus from the earliest times were mere skeletons of history), certainly had fewer contemporary materials than the Romans. But meagre as those outlines were, if they had been preserved to us as the Roman history has been, they would be sufficient to form a picture of the life of the Greeks. But neither Ephorus nor Eratosthenes have come down to us, nor the four books of Diodorus, from the

seventh to the tenth, which to some extent might supply their place. For there can be no doubt that Diodorus, in treating of that period, followed the annalistic form as he does in the history of later times, and he hardly neglected anything which he found in Ephorus. No one has made the observation, that Diodorus' account from the eleventh book, where in Greek history it differs from other accounts and traditions which have reached our time, must for the most part be regarded as derived from Ephorus, whose work was his principal source. That he made use of Ephorus, is evident from his quotations; for when he says: "here an author breaks off or begins," it shows that he followed them as authorities, and that at a certain point he left off or commenced making use of them. But it is to be regretted that he used all of them very inefficiently. We possess his work only as far back as the Persian wars: and since we have nothing more ancient than those wars, the authentic accounts in Roman history go back a short time, though only a very short time, farther than the Greek; for the authenticity of the former begins with the consuls, or some little time after the beginning of the consulship. If we divide Roman history into its elements, into what was originally contained in the annals, and into ancient lays much of which ought not to be disregarded; and if we separate the elements from the falsifications and interpolations of later times, we shall have, from the time of the first secession, and even from a somewhat earlier point, a history, the authenticity of which can be more easily restored the more deeply we study it without having recourse to invention. It is not, however, the narratives which have come down to us that are authentic; but the narratives contain the authentic history, and it is our part to discover it.

In Greek history, on the other hand, we have only in Thucydides a few scattered notices and statements, referring to the period beyond the point at which Diodorus commences; that is, the period of the Persian wars. All that Thucydides says about the Pisistratids, about the κτίσεις, etc., about the nations that sent out colonies, and the time at which they were sent, is authentic; if we add to this a few fragments from Ephorus and other trustworthy sources, these are all the genuine historical data that have reached us. Whatever we read elsewhere, even in

Herodotus, about the earlier times, the Pisistratids, the stories of Solon, Lycurgus, Cleisthenes of Sicyon; all these, whatever may be said to the contrary, are nothing but oral traditions and tales of no more historical value than the Roman stories of Coriolanus, Camillus and the like. They are tales concerning real personages, in which there is a ground-work of genuine history, but which have been disfigured in the process of continuous oral tradition; it matters not whether we suppose that they were propagated in the form of poetry, or became the common property of the people as mere prose narratives, like fairy tales. All the traditions of the early times, as that of Othryades, and a great many others, are of this description; all those graceful and beautiful stories can claim no higher value than the Roman ones. But we should not on that account despise them; on the contrary, we should honour their substance like that of the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the works of the tragic poets; for here too we delight in their substance or ὕλη. Whoever wishes to give his mind a classical training, must take care to acquire a knowledge of Greek mythology, with its innumerable deviations and forms; and we philologers must try to respect and cherish these stories in the same manner as the Alexandrian grammarians, to whose minds they were ever present; we must take the same pleasure in them as in inventions, paintings, and other works of art.

I shall relate the early history of Greece with the same freedom with which I have treated that of Rome; but I cannot here arrive at the same results as in early Roman history, because of the latter we have continuous annals, which, like the ruins of ancient buildings, enable us to see the whole of the former structure. These annals contain the true events; and when you have become familiar with the method of laying open that which was hidden, you will attain the confidence with which I speak, just as if you were in countries in which there are ruins. In the time of my father, and before it, respectable men of most extensive knowledge and good judgment, whose works we must not cast aside, I mean such men as Gatterer, admitted in an inconceivable manner everything which they found related about the earliest ages of Greece; they had not yet come to understand the difference between the several accounts; they had not yet recognised the μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος; but in regard to the earliest

times they imagined that little indeed was known, but that that little was as certain as later events. All that has been drawn into history from those early periods, for example, the genealogies and lists of the kings of Sicyon, which those men took to be as historical as any well authenticated fact, must be altogether rejected. They do not contain a shadow of truth, they are fabrications and impositions of later ages. Some ancient genealogies, such as the Phoronis, were no doubt made use of in drawing them up, but the rest was manufactured in a dishonest manner. We must draw a distinct line of demarcation between the ancient mythical and historical periods, even though in many places the line is not visible. The transition to a different state of things, the μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος, must absolutely be recognised.

This transition is analogous to that which in our days has been discovered in the science of geology: new genera come into existence, and others disappear, and in some cases, while the old ones continue, new species spring up. A dim feeling of such changes, which though not corresponding with, are yet analogous to, those of nature, seems to be contained in the idea of the different ages of the world, which was entertained by the ancients; for in each of them they assumed a new order of things, and a cessation of the preceding one. Such also was the case in regard to the races of men; in Herodotus, the age of the heroes stands apart by itself, distinctly separated from the age which follows. In the earlier times, people did not feel the necessity of connecting the whole of the different ages with one another, and yet they imagine that this could be accomplished. In reading the theogony of Hesiod, it has always been to me a strange mystery, how he could conceive the ages of men so distinctly defined, and yet the age of the heroes so near to them.

The Greeks did not believe that the transition from the age of the heroes to that of ordinary mortals was brought about by any catastrophe, or by a physical revolution, but they conceived it as something which may be imagined, but cannot be defined. The νόστοι correspond with the transitions from that period, and with them, in fact, the new period begins. The war of Ilion belongs entirely to the mythic or heroic period; it is followed by the wanderings of the heroes, the νόστοι, and their dispersion;

for the most part they disappear from the Grecian world, some going to Tyrrhenia, others to Oenotria, etc.; but most of them disappear, and those who might yet be remaining, perish during the time of the κάθοδος Ἡρακλειδῶν, or the Doric conquest of Peloponnesus. From that time the generations of men are indeed still connected by a thread with their heroic ancestors, the Heracleids with Heracles, and the Nelids and Codrids with Neleus, but they are already ordinary men. They are no longer heroes, but something quite different; they are not the ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, of which Hesiod speaks, but a poor, miserable, degenerate, sinful, and wretched race of men, οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν, as Homer says. This notion pervades all that the Greeks thought about their early ages, and, if rightly understood, shows their conception of a wholly different order of things which had come to a close, which was antehellenic, and stood in no rational relation to the subsequent state of affairs. But do not on that account believe, that I myself wish in any way to express or support the opinion, that formerly there had actually been a different order of things, or a different race of mortals, as if a metamorphosis, or a transition, like those seen in the various phases of the formation of the earth, had actually taken place. Such an idea cannot be entertained by a serious and rational man; and if I were to express it, it would be folly, or a mere silly joke, of which I should not like to be guilty. The notion arose from the circumstance, that the Greeks regarded the earlier times, preceding those in which their history begins to assume more or less an historical aspect, that is, the antehellenic period, as something distinct from, and foreign to, their own history and race. Here our historians always fall into the mistake of seeking history, where the Greeks never dreamt of relating history, I mean the Greeks before the later Alexandrian period. For it was during this latter period that the confusion commenced, and that a desire was manifested to seek history where history did not exist; a desire which was called forth by the peculiar occupation of the grammarians, and is therefore natural and very pardonable. They were occupied with the explanation of the early authors; they lived in the times of their poets, and whatever they found

in them was regarded as historical. I can say of myself, that there was a time when the personages mentioned in Greek poetry had as much reality for me, when I knew their genealogies and the like, as the historical characters of Attic history. The Alexandrian and Pergamenian grammarians knew history as well as they knew mythology, and they were as able to explain an oration of Demosthenes as a lyric poem: how much knowledge of this kind they possessed, you may see from good Scholia; but by combining that extensive knowledge with grammar, those men confounded the boundary lines, and transferred to one sphere that which belonged to another.

We shall here pass over the mythological stories, which might be a subject for a very attractive treatise, and shall begin with that which we really can know about the origin and connection of the Greek tribes. The information which has come down to us respecting the different races and tribes, and that which is known with any degree of certainty, stand, in my opinion, in no direct connection with what is called primitive history, and I shall confine my remarks to the former, from which afterwards real history will flow spontaneously. But we shall not venture to fill up the great gap with attempts to make the mythical and heroic figures historical; and when I say anything about the history of the mythical period, I do so with a view to draw your attention to that which is unhistorical.

In the case of Minos, *e. g.*, the mythical has been extended beyond the boundaries of history. The method of doubling or trebling the same person, leads to most perverse proceedings; but is nevertheless a very common expedient, which is constantly resorted to, which was unfortunately too often applied by the later among the ancient grammarians, and has been eagerly seized upon by the modern scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for the purpose of reconciling the most different accounts and traditions. Different stories are related about Minos: according to some, he was a contemporary of Theseus, while, according to others, he belonged to a much earlier period; the one Minos is a lawgiver, a wise and just ruler, and the favourite of Zeus, whereas the other is a cruel and unjust conqueror; the remedy is ready at hand, and forth-

with it is supposed that there were two Minos. Both, it is true, are called sons of Zeus; but this difficulty is easily overcome, and it is said, that one was the grandfather of the other, and that the first Minos was the good one. Not a single ancient poet has conceived Minos, the contemporary of Theseus, as different from the one described in Homer, the lawgiver of the Cretans and the friend of Zeus; and it never occurs to them to consider the different characters ascribed to him as irreconcileable. In like manner, two Cecrops have been assumed, one whose father is not mentioned, and the other a son of Pandion; and two Pandions, one the father, and the other a son, of Erechtheus. But in all these cases, we have the same variable personages, as I have remarked in my History of Rome, and all allude to the same relation between Cecrops and Erechtheus, and between Erechtheus and Pandion; but one tradition gives one set of stories, and the other another. Notwithstanding all this, our modern historians and chronologers have in good sober earnest imposed upon themselves the duty of making up and treating as historical, the chronology of the Attic kings from the times of Cecrops, just as they were in the tables of Eusebius. They tell us, with the greatest precision, in what year of the world those kings succeeded to the throne! How ridiculous! According to their logic, they could not regard the different characters of Cecrops and Pandion as belonging to the same person; for they argued thus: who can deny our view of the matter, seeing that we find those names expressly mentioned in the tables? Formerly, and down to the end of the eighteenth century, scholars clung to those tables; at present this will indeed no longer be attempted, the last link is snapped, and no man will come forward as a champion for the authenticity of the list of the Attic kings; but there will still be many, who, in regard to Theseus, are influenced by the old prejudice, and consider it a crime to doubt his historical character, or to acknowledge that the stories about him belong to the tales of the heroes, no less than those about Heracles. When the latter is said to have roasted an ox, and to have eaten it up entirely, this is almost as impossible as his fight with the hydra; and the history of Theseus is precisely the same.

There is nothing in it that can claim any higher historical character than his victory over the Minotaur, or his descent into the lower world. "Woe to him who regards both as idle men, or knights errant, as it were! If you attempt to put Theseus in harmony with time, you will fall into the most laughable contradictions." I must here claim your attention the more, because before you I freely express my opinion as the best. My difficulty here is in each case to place the things before you in their right light, or in that light of which I am convinced that it is the true one; but I hope I shall succeed, if you will give me your undivided attention, and if you do not expect me to put before you everything as in a carefully composed book.

There is no doubt that, within the last twenty years, able and ingenious men, in their lively occupation with the study of antiquity, have produced excellent works on subjects connected with Greek history; and it is delightful to see how much has been accomplished. But much is yet to be done, much to be desired, and we must be on our guard against abuse, especially the abuse of dragging into history the mythology, the symbolism, or what is called the worship of the gods. Inferences drawn from these things can have no place in history. They rest for the most part on combinations which are acute and subtle, but have no basis, and are founded upon a *petitio principii*. Some people form to themselves a notion of the religion of the Greeks, supporting the same by many sagacious observations, and after having done so, and having confirmed it by arguments with more or less love of truth, they then draw erroneous conclusions. This whole region of mythology is extremely dangerous; and I caution you very seriously against the belief that in this way you can arrive at historical truth and certainty. There are many things which we will not exclude from ancient history, but which will yet always remain very obscure. Here the *sapientia prima* is to recognize what we may and what we may not touch upon, and to separate that which we can undertake with some hope of success, from that which we cannot so undertake.

There is, however, an antehellenic history, which, in its

monuments, has not only survived the Hellenes, but has come down to our times. As the Eastern Christians believed that the Paradise had not been inundated by the deluge, but that it was separated from the rest of the land by a broad stream, in consequence of which it was visible but not attainable, so we too perceive an antehellenic history, but without being able to penetrate into its substance.

LECTURE XXII.

The last publications of Champollion inform us, that in the representations of the expeditions and victories of Sesostris, the nations of the four quarters of the world are seen, according to the notions entertained by the Egyptians themselves, to wit:—their own country—as among the Chinese—Asia, Europe, and Africa. The Europeans there still appear as savages clad in the skins of animals, while the Syrians are seen in elegant and splendid Asiatic attire. If it were not uncertain whether the inhabitants of those parts of Europe, which are in close proximity to Asia, are not included among those Asiatics, these representations would fully answer the notions entertained by the ancients respecting the rudeness and savageness of Europeans before the time of Orpheus. In this light they certainly do appear in some mythical stories, according to which Greece is a country of wild and unsubdued nature, which the heroes deliver from monsters and criminals. But in the poetic descriptions, things are different; in the Homeric poems we have before us an age which is but a little later, and yet is one of great splendour, wealth, and civilization. I need only refer you to the description of the palace of Menelaus and the court of Alcinous, though in the latter the poet goes beyond the limits of the heroic splendour of the time, and passes into the region of fable. The court of Alcinous lies indeed beyond the world of Argos, of the Danai and Achaeans, it belongs to

a country which is regarded as a foreign land, and the poet enters into a different sphere, but the splendour is the same in both palaces, in that of Menelaus no less than in that of Alcinous.

Even at the present day there exist ruins of that antehellenic period, which excite our astonishment: I allude to the ruins of Orchomenos, and especially those of Tiryns; also those of Mycenae, though they are not as considerable as those of Tiryns, and the tunnel of lake Copais. Of the latter, it is true, we know only from report, and no man has as yet seen it; travellers have looked down into the shafts, but no one in modern times has descended into them. It is to be hoped that this stupendous work will yet be explored. The ruins of Orchomenos, Tiryns and Mycenae, resemble the ancient Italian ante-Roman monuments in the fact that both are constructed of immense blocks of stone. All these places, however, act a prominent part only in traditions; as far as history goes back, they are but insignificant places. Tiryns and Orchomenos, the city of the Minyans, occur exclusively in the mythical ages, and subsequently Orchomenos is an ordinary Boeotian town like all the rest. The buildings in these places have a great resemblance in style to those of ancient Egypt, especially to the peculiar colossal nature of Egyptian architecture; we, moreover, find in them pointed arches instead of vaults, just as in Egyptian buildings. The sculptures on what is called the lion gate at Mycenae, which is noticed even by Pausanias, has quite a foreign character; notwithstanding all the ravages of barbarians, that gate is still standing undisturbed, and its ruins are perhaps now as completely preserved as they were at the time when Pausanias described them. But the greatest of all these works is the tunnel of lake Copais. In this lake there met together the Cephissus and other rivers flowing from the Thesprotian and Boeotian hills; but as the lake had no outlet towards the sea, it overflowed the beautiful and fertile valley of Haliartus. Now, in order to secure that valley against inundation, several tunnels by the side of one another were made to conduct the waters through the hills to the Euboean sea, a distance of thirty stadia or nearly four miles, and the level of the lake was thus reduced. These tunnels were constructed

in times of which the Greeks themselves had so little knowledge or tradition, that they considered them to be natural subterraneous passages.[1] This must have been done at a time when Orchomenos, which was situated on the hills above the valley, was in its highest prosperity. Similar works which were executed in Italy to restore to the swollen lake of Alba its natural level, and to reduce the lakes of Volsinii, Nemi and others, to their present level, likewise belong to a very early age; the way in which the waters of these lakes were drawn off, is now entirely forgotten. In the most remote period similar tunnels were also constructed in Arcadia; thus the lakes of Stymphalus and Pheneus were drawn off, and no historical recollection has been preserved of those works; the traditions refer them to heroes, and the former of these two valleys, in particular, is said to have been recovered by Heracles.

I do not mean to assert, that these works were executed in the very remotest period; for I admit that it is a very common practice to refer things to the most ancient times, when the works of more recent centuries have been forgotten. If we did not possess a history by which we are enabled to bring before our minds what has happened a few centuries ago—and if we did not know in what style people built at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century, we should probably imagine that the buildings of that period, which we see, were built many centuries back, because they are of a character quite different from that of buildings of our own time. Thus it certainly is possible that some of those works may belong to the Hellenic period, but others assuredly cannot, such as the tunnel of lake Copais, which is manifestly connected with the ante-Hellenic greatness of the Minyan Orchomenos. Moreover, Tiryns, in the Hellenic age, was a place of no importance, and consequently its buildings must belong to the period preceding that of the Hellenes. It is commonly imagined that there is nothing to answer to the poetical descriptions, as if that which is said

[1] "The beginning may have been made by nature, but human hands most certainly followed up the hint of nature and completed the work."—1826.

about the greatness of Argos had no foundation at all; but, on the contrary, these works seem completely to refute the notion that the inhabitants of Greece at that time were savages or barbarians.

In regard to other great events which belong to still remoter times, we have only traditions; such, for example, as the great catastrophes of the earth—the partial inundations; the truth of which we can doubt the less, because the greatest among the Greek philosophers were convinced of them. One of them was the so-called flood of Deucalion, which we must conceive to have arisen from waters breaking forth from the interior of the mountains, whereby whole districts, together with the men and their habitations, were destroyed. The fact that Greece was visited by such calamities was not doubted either by Plato or Aristotle; and the latter expresses his conviction, in his "Meteorology," that the districts which were thus laid waste lost their inhabitants, and that the ancient Selli saved themselves only on the heights of Pindus and in the mountain of Epirus, about Janina. These occurrences must be assigned to a period still more remote than the heroic age, which for us has become quite mythical; and there are only a few myths which we can trace so far. In them we find traces of different autochthones; thus, the restoration of the human race, after the flood, by Deucalion and Pyrrha, does not concern the world of the Hellenes (?); but subsequently we find another notion of an origin of the human race, in the story of the formation of the Myrmidons under Aeacus, and these are the same people as the Hellenes.

Amid the countless number of opinions on Greece, we are strongly inclined to adhere to the view that, formerly, all Greece was called Pelasgia, and that it was inhabited by the people of the Pelasgians. It is well known that the name Hellas is of later origin; and its late origin and diffusion are explained in a singular manner, the insufficiency and unhistorical nature of which show themselves at once, though it is associated with great names. It is said that Hellas was a town of Thessaly, in Achaia Phthiotis, and that it received its name from the hero Hellen, who, together with his sons, was invited by the neighbouring

Thessalians to rule over them, and decide disputes among them. In this manner, it is said, the name Hellenes began to spread. But this hero, Hellen, stands on the same footing as Ion, Aeolus, Dorus, Achaeus, and others, all of whom are not real persons, but mere personifications of the tribes. I do not believe in the existence of a town, Hellas, in Achaia; it is not mentioned anywhere in history, and is a mere inference from a verse in Homer.[2]

There are some other points which we must bear in mind. It is an erroneous opinion, that Homer had no common name for the whole of Greece; for there can be no doubt that, by the name Argos, he did not designate Peloponnesus alone, but the whole of Greece. This has been recognized even by several critics in antiquity, and is positively attested by the verse—

Πολλῇσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.

But much has been said against it, and the correct view has been forgotten. Argos is the general name, and Thessaly in particular is called the Pelasgian Argos. The name Hellas came into use gradually, but how and when this happened we cannot say. All we know is, that it arose after the epic period, and that, at the time when our historical accounts begin, all the Greeks, even those of Asia, called themselves Hellenes. But how this remarkable change arose, we know not. In the earlier times, the name Hellenes was much more limited; and, at first, they are mentioned in contrast with the others.

The name Pelasgians, for the inhabitants of Greece, does not occur in Homer, although he speaks of that race. But it is found only in the Odyssey, where, in general, everything is much more recent than in the Iliad, and, if I recollect right, the Pelasgians are mentioned in Crete; in the Iliad, so far as the Greek word is concerned, we have only the name Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος in the catalogue, which is the most recent part of the Iliad; and, concerning the time of the composition of which, a discovery, I think, may yet be made.

Wherever in the Iliad the name Hellenes occurs, it seems to be confined to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, that is, the Myrmidons, the subjects of Achilles. In the catalogue, Hellas belongs

[2] *Iliad*, xvi. 595.

to the Pelasgian Argos; in other places it occurs side by side with Argos; as in the words Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, and ἀν' Ἕλληνας καὶ Ἀχαίους. In the latter passage,[3] the reading, before the time of F. A. Wolf, was Πανέλληνας, instead of which ἀν' Ἕλληνας is, no doubt, the correct reading. Herodotus distinguished the name of the Hellenes from that of the Pelasgians. He calls the Ionians Pelasgians, and the Dorians Hellenes; and relates that the latter originally dwelt on Mount Pindus, but that after various wanderings over Parnassus, Oeta, etc., they at length entered Peloponnesus. Of the Dorians we shall speak hereafter, and show that, in these earlier times, they must be considered to have been a greater people than they were afterwards in the historical time, when they occupied the little Δωρὶς τετράπολις.

But granting that according to Herodotus, who is here a very safe guide, the Dorians were Hellenes, and the Ionians Pelasgians, we must not invert the proposition, or maintain that Ionians and Pelasgians, and Dorians and Hellenes were the same and synonymous. Other tribes too, though they were not Dorians, were yet Hellenes; the Phocians and Locrians, *e.g.*, to whom we cannot assign a distinct race or character, may perhaps have belonged to the most ancient Hellenes. I infer this from the passage about Αἴας Οἰλῆος, who is famous ἀν' Ἕλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιούς, in which assuredly his tribe is included.

In regard to the Pelasgians, I believe that in my Roman History[4] I have made tolerably clear the paths in this labyrinth, and how to get out of its mazes. I believe that the conclusions at which I have arrived, however startling they may be, may yet be relied upon, and after all, correspond more with what might reasonably be expected, than the commonly received opinions. Whoever believes that the essentially different nations in those districts must necessarily have been small, imagines a necessity which has no existence. Seeing that in the East, tribes of the same race extend over a vast range of country, as the Iranians from Chusistan to the Jaxartes and Bokhara; and beholding, as we do, the wide diffusion of the German, Celtic, and Iberian

[3] *Iliad*, ii. 530.

[4] Vol. i. p. 25, foll.

races, can there be anything surprising or objectionable in our supposition, that in a similar manner an ancient race extended from Asia Minor, including its north-western coast, to the frontiers of Liguria; nay, that the same race even spread over the Western Islands? If we take our own language and compare it with the Latin and Greek, or even with the Eastern languages, we find that they are related to one another, showing that they must all have proceeded from one original stock; and we must accordingly assume an immense diffusion of that race; if, moreover, we consider the great affinity between the Iranian and Sarmatian languages, these races also must originally have been of the same stock. Such also is the case with the Pelasgians, and several other nations may be conceived to have been akin to them, however great the extent of that race itself may have been. People have always been deceived in this case by the fact, that the Greeks often apply to themselves the name Pelasgians; but this confusion does not commence till a later period, when they were already in a state of decay. In the earlier ages, when the recollection of the ancient times was still alive, and when there existed, if not an historical tradition, at least an image of them, this confusion does not occur. The tragic poets never call the Hellenes Pelasgians; but they justly apply the name to the first inhabitants of Peloponnesus, in the mythico-heroic age, for they were really Pelasgians.

This Pelasgian race commenced on the Propontis, on the frontiers of Bithynia proper, between Cyzicus and the subsequent Nicomedia: there we find the most eastern traces of the Pelasgians; from thence they occupy the whole of the west of Asia Minor, inhabiting a broad tract of coastland down to the river Maeander in the south; there the Teucrians and Meonians no doubt belonged to them. We then find them in the islands of the Aegean, in Lesbos and Chios, where they were subsequently subdued by the Ionians—Lemnos and Imbros, whence they extend into Macedonia. The southern part of Macedonia is Pelasgian, so is the western part, and in fact, the whole country, so far as it is comprised within a line drawn from southern and western Macedonia to Illyricum. In later times, indeed, this line comprised only Epirus; but it is evident, that originally

the whole of Illyricum also was occupied by Pelasgians. In the north they extend along the whole coast, as far as Pannonia, and on the north of the Alps as far as Vindelicia, or the country of Bavaria. In Italy they dwelt on the coasts of both seas, on the Adriatic as well as on the Lower Sea. The Veneti, on the Adriatic, belong to them, and the whole of southern Italy, south of a line extending from the mouth of the Liris into Apulia, is Pelasgian. The tribes which dwelt between them, in the mountains, were probably conquerors, who afterwards penetrated into those countries; and there must have been a time when the whole country was Pelasgian. This is really less startling than is commonly imagined. "At the time when our history begins, we find the Pelasgians scattered, and the process of dispersion continues without interruption: their greatness lies entirely beyond the boundaries of history. When the Greeks call them ἐυσποτμώτατον ἔθνος, this appellation is certainly correct as far as historical times are concerned."

The question here naturally arises, How stood the Hellenes in the midst of this vast Pelasgian world? were they not likewise Pelasgians? I answer no, they were not Pelasgians. This is expressly and decidedly stated in the testimony of the ancients. But Hellenes and Pelasgians were kindred nations; identity of religion and similarity of language connected them with each other; here, too, we find a fundamental difference and a fundamental relationship, bound together by an inexplicable law.[5] But how, in the midst of the Pelasgian world, a people which was not Pelasgian could maintain itself in its isolation in the mountains, is a question which I cannot answer, and which you cannot expect me to answer. This much we can say with certainty, that the difference did not arise from a mixture of races. Herodotus expressly recognises the difference; and Aristotle also clearly distinguishes them from the surrounding Pelasgians. He says that the Hellenes, who were then called Γραικοί,[6] dwelt upon Mount Pindus about Dodona,

[5] We here pass over an account of the affinity of their languages from the Lectures of 1826, which agrees with that already published in the *Lectures on Roman History*, vol. i. p. 17.—Ed.

[6] "Σελλὸς and Ἕλλην are the same name; the termination *en* is the same

whither they had fled to escape from the flood. This allows us to suppose, that in the early times the Hellenes were a more extensive nation. If this be true, and if they once did occupy districts in which a great portion of their race perished in some physical catastrophe, the question is less puzzling; and, in fact, it is puzzling only when we refuse to exercise the modesty of distinguishing between that which can be known and that which cannot. In such enquiries we must always beware of attaching too much importance to isolated testimonies; and although it is said, that at first the Hellenes dwelt on Pindus, yet we must not suppose that all the Hellenes occupied Mount Pindus only. They may, very possibly, have come down from the mountains in the earlier times, and spread further, perhaps over southern Thessaly, Histiaeotis, towards Achaia, Phthiotis, and the Dorian hills.

We meet with inextricable difficulties, if we attempt to trace out and examine the ancient traditions about the different tribes in Greece. The Argives derive their name from the country of Argos, contrary to the general rule, according to which the names of nations exist first, and countries derive their names from the nations. Argos probably signified a castle, a town, or something similar, and the name occurs in countries occupied by Pelasgians. Larissa, which also occurs in Pelasgian countries, and certainly signifies a strong castle or fort, is everywhere the name of some fortress. The other general names are Danai and Achaeans, which I do not consider synonymous. Achaeans seems certainly to have been the name of a special people, which was afterwards used in a general sense. Danai, on the other hand, never was a special name, but was probably always a general designation, which no doubt belonged to all Pelasgian nations. However much I am averse to building historical researches upon names of nations, still I must direct your attention to the fact that the name *Danai* has a great resemblance to other Tyrrheno-Pelasgian names, and is evidently very

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as the one which so often occurs in names of nations in Italy, in the form of *ens* or *as*. Γραικοὶ is probably the name which the Pelasgians gave to the Hellenes, whence it was adopted by the Romans."—1826.

closely akin to them. *Danai* and *Daunii* are unquestionably the same; and the Daunii are clearly allied to the Tyrrhenian race. Danaë is said to have founded the Pelasgico-Tyrrhenian Ardea, and on the other hand the father of Tyrrhenus(=Turnus) was, according to some, called Daunus, and his mother Danaë. *Daunus* and *Launus*, again, are the same, *d* and *l* in Latin, and in the so called Aeolian dialect, being always exchanged for one another, as in δάκρυον and *lacryma*, *Ducetius* and *Leucetius*. *Launa*, *Lavinia*, and *Lavinium*, are the same as the different names of the Latins, *Lavici*, *Lakinii*, *Latini*, and all these names are identical with Danai. Hence we may assume, that Danai was the peculiar name of the Pelasgians in Greece, just as Tyrrheni and Siceli were the names of the Pelasgians in Italy. These are the conclusions at which I have arrived after many years' reflection, and I should be glad if you could become convinced of their truth.

LECTURE XXIII.

The Pelasgians, in the earliest times of Greece, were, it would seem, clearly distinguished as Pelasgians of Thessaly, and Pelasgians of Peloponnesus, and to the latter the poets refer the name of Tyrrhenian Pelasgians. There is, however, nothing to justify further historical inferences from these designations. The Pelasgian settlements again, are distinguished by the fact that some are called Arcadian, and others Thessalian. The confusion in these names is quite endless: the different names of the Pelasgian nation, and the different names of the particular tribes, are employed in such a manner, that they are seen in history doubled, or even trebled, in the same place, as if Tyrsenians and Pelasgians, Thessalians and Pelasgians, and Tyrsenians and Thessalians, had made war upon one another, whereas in reality they are the same people. Now if the question be asked, whether all these peoples, which the ancients sometimes comprise under

the general name of Pelasgians, and those which in different countries they expressly mention under this name, as in Chios and Magna Graecia, in other words, whether the peoples, from the Liburnians in the west down to the Meonians, Sicels, and Tyrsenians, were one nation in the sense in which the Slavonians, *e. g.*, in their immense extent are a nation,—I answer: who can by any possibility know this? What rational man can you expect to express himself upon this subject in any other than an undecided manner? It is not possible here to give a decided opinion; but considering the vast extent of this nation, I certainly must suppose, that there existed considerable differences in the dialects and mode of life of various portions of it; although I will neither deny nor affirm anything. When an ancient Sicel met a Tyrrhenian from Samothrace, it is possible that they may have understood each other, just as a Cossack can, with some difficulty, be understood by a Bohemian, a Serbian by a Great-Russian, and the latter by a Bohemian, provided they have accustomed their ears a little to the strange dialect. But I do not mean for a moment to assert this, and can say nothing else concerning it than that the analogy of great nations proves, that there are always dialectic differences, and that they may become very strongly marked, although the identity of the nation remains. These differences may even become so great, that the several tribes do not understand one another, which is the case more particularly, when one portion of the nation is subdued, and for a time lives under another as a conquered people, adopting the dialect of the conquerors. The Arabs of the Peninsula and the Mauritanians, or inhabitants of Tunis, have great difficulty in understanding one another, but after all they can do so; in like manner, the language of the Maltese is very different from theirs, and yet when you see the Maltese written, you can see the fundamental features of the Arabic, or, if you will, of the language of Tunis. Whatever may be the differences in words, which occur in the different Arabic dialects, and which are not found at all in others, yet the Arabs from Syria and those from Yemen understood each other immediately, however much the country of the one may be separated from that of the other. Thus the whole question is one of those which cannot be decided.

There is, however, good reason for regarding the Pelasgians as constituting the great bulk of the earliest inhabitants of Greece, and occupying the countries from Mount Olympus to Cape Taenarum, in Peloponnesus, with the exception of the central part of these countries, which was inhabited by the Hellenic race. If in the midst of mythical traditions, we may venture on the dangerous experiment of drawing historical conclusions from names and mythical allusions, reasons can certainly be found for the assertion, that the Pelasgians of Peloponnesus must be considered as a population which spread in that country at a later period; for traditions which do not occur till the time of the tragic poets, and perhaps of the later lyric poets, represent Pelops as coming from Phrygia across the sea into Peloponnesus; and nothing is so common as the expressions Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ, ὁ Ταντάλειος, who by a stratagem acquires the sovereignty in Peloponnesus. I am not the first to point out that the name Pelops bears an evident relation to the Pelasgians; but another remark which I will add, and which is my own, is this:—Pelops is very little mentioned in ancient Greek story, and in the early epic poets; and in them he cannot have been a Phrygian any more than Telephus in Homer can have been a Mysian, or Priam and his sons Phrygians. We have here the same case as in Virgil's answer to Dante's question, whence he was. "I am a native of Mantua, and my parents were Lombards;" for Dante knew quite well that the Lombards had come into Italy long after the time of Virgil. His answer is just as much as if he had said, "I am a Cisalpine," which, however, would have conveyed no meaning to his hearers. If a description gains in vividness by the fact, that a poet designates a country according to the knowledge of his audience, and uses a name which, by its allusion to actual circumstances, brings the subject with greater and increased ἐνέργεια before their mind, he is perfectly right in relying on their not connecting an erroneous idea with the name he employs; superficial critics may blame him for having employed an equivocal name, but intelligent men will not find fault with him. If we were to suppose, that after Dante's time there had followed a period similar to that in antiquity; if we knew as little of the Lombards as we know of the history of Asia Minor; if it had been customary to call the an-

cient inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul by the more recent name of Lombards, and if now any one were to infer from this, that the Lombards occupied that country in the time of the Romans, this would be just the same as when Pelops is called a Phrygian. The Phrygians, in those earliest times, have nothing whatever to do with those districts. Accordingly, the story of Pelops resolves itself into that well-known form of a myth. In order to account for the fact, that different countries, especially such as are separated by narrow seas, are inhabited by the same people, it is generally supposed that they migrated from one country into that on the other side of the water. This expedient is universally resorted to. In like manner, there is an ancient story among the Britains, that Britany in Armorica received its population from Britain beyond the sea, at the time of the migration of nations. This is a complete fable, for Strabo quite distinctly says, that the inhabitants of Britany were, even in this time, Belgae; a statement which, on account of Caesar, had not been paid attention to; the Celts expelled the Belgae only from Normandy. We often hear of such alleged migrations. The Oenotrians and Evander are said to have come from Arcadia, as Pelops migrates from Phrygia into Peloponnesus, and the Aeolians from Greece to Asia Minor. The Aeolians, however, at least the greater part of them, did not proceed from Greece to that country. That Pelops was a Phrygian, therefore, cannot be received as an ancient idea; and the several myths about his personal history, his arrival at Pisa, his contest, and the like, must be regarded by rational criticism as lying quite beyond the boundaries of history. But it is true, that the name of Peloponnesus has a peculiar relation to its Pelasgian population; it is the peculiarly Pelasgian part of Greece, whereas the country now called Livadia, between the Isthmus and Mount Oeta, with the exception of Attica, which belonged to the Pelasgians, was Hellenic. Whoever does not see, that in the stories of Pelops we are in the domain of pure fiction, must also admit the cutting up of Pelops and his ivory shoulder, as well as the murder of the children of Thyestes and the return of the sun.

But besides the two races of the Pelasgians and Hellenes there occur several other tribes even within the limits of Greece

Proper. I say intentionally in *Greece Proper;* we are here somewhat in difficulty. The ancients entertained a very wise and correct view; they called all the countries in which Greeks were settled Hellas, the most distant countries on the Euxine, Bosporus, and the coasts of Iberia, as well as Athens and Peloponnesus; but they distinguished between Ἑλλὰς συνεχὴς and Ἑλλὰς σποραδικὴ. The former is mentioned by Scylax and Dicaearchus,[1] but the latter name was very rarely used. Ἑλλὰς συνεχὴς commenced on the coasts of Ambracia; but the question is, whether Thessaly belonged to Hellas or not. This was always a disputed point, even as late as the time of the Peripatetics, the disciples of Aristotle; this is a remarkable circumstance, to which I shall have to revert hereafter.

Among the tribes before alluded to, the Caucones and Leleges are most frequently mentioned. They are said to have been of the Carian race; but if it is true that the Leleges were the ancestors of the Locrians, and if the latter in the catalogue are rightly classed among the Hellenes, this is one of those cases in which reconciliation is impossible. But the belief that a people of the Carian race dwelt in Triphylia, on the west coast of Peloponnesus, is one against which nothing can be said; for it is established on good authorities, that at one time the Carians occupied the Cyclades, and it is known from Thucydides that more than half the corpses dug up by the Athenians in Delos were Carians. Admitting that even at a very early period, the Ionian population did not bury their dead there, we yet see that Carians once dwelt in the island. And what was the case in Delos was no doubt the same in all the islands, and it is reserved to our times, when Greece is under a European government, to show this still more distinctly; the nature of the Carian tombs will soon be known, partly by investigations in the Cyclades, and partly by those in Caria itself, as the Athenians could so easily distinguish the Ionian tombs. It is further not more impossible that the Carians should have been in Peloponnesus, than that they existed in Delos and all the Cyclades. It is also probable that the Eteocretans or original Cretans, belonged to

[1] Scylax, p. 12, ed. Hudson; Dicaearch v. 32, foll. ed. Hudson.

the Carian nation, and the southern countries were entirely inhabited by that race: we find them also in Cos, Rhodes, etc. This is more than a mere conjecture, it is an opinion of intuitive certainty. The Carians are altogether a non-Greek people; they are as little Pelasgian as they are Hellenic; they are called βαρβαρόφωνοι, or strange to the Greeks on account of their language, while a barbarous language is never assigned to the Teucrians or Trojans in the Homeric poems, and their names are Hellenic; and although it may not be true, yet the poet always represents the Teucrians and Danai as understanding one another. "The Eteocretans appear to have been modified by a Pelasgian immigration, and afterwards to have been Hellenised by a Hellenic one." The Lydians and Mysians in destructive wars took possession of the countries formerly inhabited by Pelasgians. Teucrians and Meonians likewise belonged to the Carians.

The Poeni or Phoenicians were another people inhabiting those countries; they were not widely extended, but in a scattered way they dwelt and ruled there, much in the same manner in which the Arabs do on the east coast of Africa, and as the Carthaginians did on the coasts of Numidia, Mauritania, and Iberia. We are expressly told by Herodotus, that in the earliest times they had a settlement in Thasos, and that they had gold mines there as on the opposite coast of Thrace. Cythera was likewise a Phoenician colony. "The truth of Phoenician settlements cannot be doubted in either of these places; in the former we find the worship of the Phoenician Melkarth, and in the latter that of Mylitta. In Thera there are likewise traces of the Phoenicians." It is interesting to observe how the Phoenicians everywhere established themselves in islands of no great extent and not far from the mainland; from such points they were enabled, without garrisons, to rule over the neighbouring countries through their commerce and the superiority of their culture, and to extend their influence. I am disposed to believe that at one time the Phoenicians were also in possession of Aegina, particularly as the Attic silver mines were just opposite; as yet I do not indeed know of any mention of this, and have discovered no trace of it, but perhaps some one will yet find something to

confirm my suspicion. On the mainland of Greece, Thebes is the only Phoenician colony. I have already said that I cannot understand how people can dispute and deny the Phoenician origin of the Thebans in opposition to the testimony of all antiquity. Only remember that among the few remnants which we have of the Boeotian language, there occurs the word Βάνα which evidently has an Aramaic or Phoenician root, and to which there is no kindred word in the Greek language.

Besides these the Thracians also occur in our accounts. They are mentioned at Daulis in Phocis, in Boeotia where they are called Aonians, Hyantes, etc., nay, even at Eleusis in Attica, where Eumolpus is described as a Thracian, and fights along with the Eleusinians against Athens. Even if we cast on one side everything that has no historical value, it will still be impossible to deny that Thracians once dwelt in those districts, and that in central Hellas they occur between Mount Oeta and the Isthmus, that is, in Phocis, Boeotia, and Attica. This fact admirably agrees with my opinion that the Thracians were one of those nations which had come into Greece from the north, and that we have traces of the time when the Thracians had not yet spread themselves in those localities. I consider the boundaries of the Pelasgian country, which are laid down in the "Suppliants" of Aeschylus, to be perfectly historical; nay, more, I am convinced that they are drawn too narrow rather than too wide, and that they extended even farther, so that the settlement of the Thracians in Pieria, in the peninsula between the Axius and the Strymon, in Phocis, Boeotia, and Attica, was the consequence of an invasion of the nation which took place at a time which we can no longer define. If we use the utmost care, we find a few faint traces of the changes that must have taken place there; but when and how this happened we cannot say; this only is certain, that within the Pelasgian country Thracian tribes appear. On mount Jura we find enormous rocks torn from the Alps and thrown high up by a force to which the forces on our earth furnish no analogy, and there must have been a convulsion of the physical elements without our being able to say at what time, and what forces were at work there; but it is, nevertheless, a fact: such also is the case with the invasion of the Thracians and also that of the Illyrians. The

latter certainly belongs to a much later time than is generally believed; the Homeric age, for example, does not know of it; but I do not mean to say that some of their expeditions did not take place at an earlier time. All the chronological statements about the early period of Greece are utterly worthless, and in my opinion the invasion of the Illyrians belongs to a very late period, perhaps to the thirtieth or fortieth, if not to the fiftieth Olympiad: it certainly did not happen much earlier. How then can it be said that the invasion of the Thracians which the Greeks placed in the time of Pandion and Erechtheus, cannot be compared with it?[2] I cannot admit into my narrative those things which every book boldly sets forth.

What renders the invasion of the Thracians probable, is the conviction which you may have of the extent of the Pelasgian nation. Beginning from the Propontis, they decidedly appear west of the Strymon, and all the islands of the Aegean, between Greece and Asia, to the north of Euboea and Chios belong to them; should these islands only have been Pelasgian, and not also the margin of that sea, the coast of Thrace? for the eastern margin too was Teucrian or Pelasgian. I have no doubt that the northern margin also was Pelasgian, and that the Thracians spread over all those countries. Here we assuredly have the earliest traces of a devastating northern migration of nations, which was afterwards reproduced among other nations. This migration of nations was formerly not mentioned anywhere; a corresponding tradition describing the opposite direction, as traditions about settlements always do, is that ancient story which is preserved only in a single passage of Herodotus, that the Teucrians undertook a great expedition into Europe, and entirely subdued the Thracians. In the catalogue of ships, the Teucrian dominion is supposed to extend as far as the foot of Olympus, for all the nations of those countries set out to the support of Ilium. Whoever follows up those empires of ancient Greece, as they are described in the poets, and from them in the mythographers, passes from the dominion of history into another, where every philologer must indeed be at home, but which does

[2] This passage cannot be restored with certainty. We must probably supply the words, "which, however, I must place at a much later time," after the name "Erechtheus."—Ed.

not belong to history: I might just as well relate to you the stories of the Heldenbuch, of the Edda, and the like. Hence I shall, in what follows, say but little, and that in a negative way, on these beginnings; and shall do no more than merely notice many of the incongruities. We must be satisfied with seeing this so-called ancient history partly cut up into fragments, and partly reduced to a very small compass.

LECTURE XXIV.

I HAVE already noticed the peculiar manner in which the heroic age, and especially its kingly families are made to disappear and perish, and that this was chiefly brought about through the νόστοι. On their return from Troy the kings found everything in a state of dissolution, and they went away, one in one direction, and another in another, as Diomede and Philoctetes. The Odyssey relates the return of Odysseus; but he afterwards falls by the hand of Telegonus, and Telemachus with the latter goes to Circe in Aeaea. Minos, also, whose race likewise disappears, and afterwards Idomeneus, perish in a similar manner. Minos pursues Daedalus to Sicania, and there meets his fate in the siege of Camicus; as this is not yet sufficient to get rid of the whole ancient race, the Cretans are said to have followed him to avenge his death, and to have all perished. Other Cretans again proceed with Idomeneus to Italy, as it was felt improper to allow his Cretans to pass over into the historical period. Lastly, Teucer goes to Cyprus in the same manner. All these stories evidently have no other meaning than to explain how the Greek people of the mythical period and the race of heroes vanish from history. Such also is the meaning of the tradition of a great many so called Greek or Achaean settlements after the Trojan period, all of which are entirely non-Greek, and even in after-times appear as un-Hellenic as other nations; these, too, emigrate and disap-

pear. Other emigrations of the Greeks have an historical appearance, but yet their historical origin is extremely doubtful. I allude to the Aeolian and Dorian cities on the coast of Asia Minor. This opinion will no doubt be regarded as an unfaithful, nay, as an intolerable paradox; and yet I am convinced that it is not a mere conjecture, but that it might be fully proved, if it were possible to find testimonies; "but this is impossible, because the history of that whole period is contained in poems, which furnish only detached incidents." I have spoken about these colonies in my lectures on Ethnography and Chorography. I have there directed attention to the fact, first that that coast as far as the Maeander, where the Carian race begins, was in the earliest times inhabited by Pelasgian nations, Meonians, Teucrians, and others. I will further remind you that there were two cities of the name of Magnesia; the one at the foot of Mount Sipylus, the other on the Meander; both were called Magnesia, in the same sense as the Magnesia in Greece Proper, namely, "country of the Magnetes," where the existence of a town Magnesia has been absurdly assumed, of which the ancients know nothing, and that even by the excellent D'Anville.[1] The two Asiatic towns of the name of Magnesia were situated in the midst of the country, and had no connection at all with the coast; how then did they arise? There is absolutely no statement respecting their foundation. I regard them as towns of the Asiatic Magnetes, whom it is not necessary to suppose to have migrated thither from Thessaly; for as a part of the Pelasgians on the coast of Asia Minor were called Thessalians, it is clear that in the earliest times there may have existed Magnetes on the coast

[1] "It is extraordinary to see what astonishing works D'Anville has produced with his very slender knowledge of Greek, with the help of translations and the like—a great proof of his geographical genius. He knew no eastern language, and yet even there his keen eye hits right; the orthography in his maps of eastern geography is a striking proof of the fact, that even where he was deficient in direct knowledge, he clearly and distinctly saw the truth. The same is the case in his Geography of Greece, where he has committed only a few trifling mistakes to which attention must be directed. Faults in great men must be pointed out, but not with an air of assumption and indulgence, but with a *probatio honoris*."

of Asia as well as about Mount Pelion in Thessaly. I am perfectly convinced, that in whatever manner the Aeolian cities may have become Greek, the main stock in the twelve towns (twelve towns on the coast, and a δωδεκάπολις on Mount Ida, ἡ ἄνω Αἰολίς), was essentially a Pelasgian population, which became Hellenised.

The change of language in the extension of the Hellenic nation appears to us very surprising; but this is one of those things which a man must have observed himself, in order not to think them incredible. In the history of nations, and in ethnography, we can point to many analogous cases, in which the many adopted the language of the few. I need, in the first place, only remind you of the remarkable change of the Wendish and German languages, which has occurred in the north of Germany. The Wends dwelt in Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and in all the countries on the east of a line which runs from the Holstein canal, between Rendsburg and Kiel, east of Hamburg down to the frontier of the Altmark, then running along that frontier so as to include Magdeburg; it then proceeds, excluding Merseburg, towards Schleïtz, leaving the territory of Bayreuth, Nürnberg, the Upper Palatinate on the west, then down again to the embouchure of the Altmühl into the Danube, and across the hill towards the Inn, so as to include the eastern part of the Puster valley. In this great extent of country the Wends formed the majority of the population, and yet they adopted the language of a minority of Germans who settled among them, except in Lusatia and the neighbouring districts, Bohemia, Krain, and the adjoining parts of Styria. On the east of the line here described, the Wendish language in the eighth century was absolutely predominant far and wide; but at present it has entirely disappeared, except in the districts which I have just mentioned. German colonists certainly did settle there; but they were only a small number compared with the rest of the population. In some parts the Wendish dynasties remained, as in Mecklenburg and Pomerania, only adopting the German language; the courts became Germanised, and German found a welcome reception in the towns, but the ancient nobility is altogether of Wendish origin; yet as

early as the fourteenth century the Wendish language had entirely disappeared. No man can account for such a change. The most probable explanation would be to suppose that the Germans were not entirely expelled by the Wends; but the names of places and rivers which are altogether Slavonian, prove that the Wendish language was predominant. In like manner the native Belgian or Cymrian language in Cornwall, Cumberland, and to some extent also in Westmoreland has given way to the English without any settlement of the latter in those counties. In Egypt a very small number of Arabs have established colonies; and yet through their influence, the ancient language of this very populous nation has entirely disappeared, except among the Christians. Throughout the north of Persia, in Masanderan, Shirwan and elsewhere, as well as in a great part of Chorassan, the number of Turks is not very great, and they did not establish themselves there till the eleventh century; and yet the Turkish language centuries ago has entirely supplanted that of the Persians, and so much so that only the learned understand and speak Persian. This facility of changing languages at certain periods is a very remarkable phenomenon; it may often be effected by force. An Arab khalif in Spain commanded the Christians in Andalusia to adopt the Arabic, to prevent their having intercourse with the Christians of Castile, and after one generation all spoke Arabic. My father learned in Asia Minor, that fifty years ago the Christians at Caesarea spoke Greek; but a Turkish pashah forbade it under penalty of death, and thus the Greek language became extinct. In like manner, it is true, Albert the Bear forbade the use of the Wendish language in the marquisate of Brandenburg, but in Mecklenburg and Pomerania this was not the case. But even where despotism does not interfere, a change of language is often effected in another manner. Wherever Albanese colonies establish themselves among the modern Greeks, they retain for a time the Albanese language, they then become δίγλωσσοι, and in the end speak nothing but Greek. Languages, therefore, are not so constant as is commonly supposed. Nay, I do not consider even the physical features of nations to be as immutable

as people are commonly inclined to think, except in certain forms. The features, it is true, do not go beyond the marks of the race, but within their limits, the characteristic features are subject to changes in a remarkable manner. There is no doubt that in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, blue eyes and fair hair were the general characteristics in the south of France, but in Gascony, the district of which he speaks, these features are no longer seen. On the other hand, blue eyes and fair hair were something very extraordinary among the ancient Greeks, whereas at present they are very common. We might say, that this arises from a mixture of nations; but the nations that might have contributed to such a mixture, have dark hair, like the Albanese. Tacitus says, that the Caledonians could be recognised by their German eyes and hair, and although the Caledonians were Gael, to doubt which would be too bold, yet their present descendants in the Highlands have brown eyes and dark hair. I make this observation, to show how, within the limits of the race, the differences by which the single tribes are distinguished, may without difficulty be conceived in the course of time to have become altered, or to have disappeared. How many people are there at present in Germany with dark hair, and how rare is the ancient German hair in Upper and even in Lower Germany? It is a correct observation that the peculiar German hair as described by the Romans, disappears more and more in the north of Germany, and a century hence it will probably be very rare; the progress is so remarkable. In districts which I know well, I have, ever since my boyhood, observed a marked diminution, and old people have made the same observation.

According to what I have here said, it is very possible that the Pelasgian nations exchanged their own language for the Greek, at which we can be as little surprised as at the fact that subsequently the Greek nation unquestionably, to a certain extent, adopted the Macedonian language.

This, I think, is sufficient as an introduction to the earliest history of Greece. I shall be obliged to lay before you many things in a manner, as if I were speaking historically on mythical subjects; but I think I have sufficiently cautioned you. The

ancient Greeks had the inclination peculiar to human nature, to derive all that exists from individual persons. I shall now describe to you the conditions of the separate countries.

A Jove principium! let us therefore begin with Athens.

In the earliest times of which we have any definite information, we find at Athens a people, which is called Ionian. It is divided into four tribes, like all the Ionians wherever they are met with; each tribe is subdivided into three *phratries*, and each *phratria* contains thirty γένη or *gentes*. This Ionic condition of Athens is said to have been brought about by an immigration of the fugitive Ionians, who on being expelled by the Achaeans from Aegialea, threw themselves into Attica, and there met with a friendly reception and protection from the natives; but it is contrary to all experience and possibility that a people received in such a manner, should acquire such an influence as to impress its own character upon those who received it. At the same time we hear of a change of dynasty. The immigrating people is governed by the royal race of the Nelids, which has otherwise disappeared; that race steps into the place of the Theseids, and Theseus with his race vanishes from Attic history, being expelled according to some accounts by a δημαγωγός, or, according to others, spontaneously resigning his sovereignty and kingly dignity. If I am not very much mistaken, there must have existed in the earlier ages yet another tradition, namely that Theseus never returned from the lower world, and that this was the cause of the disappearance of the ancient royal house of Athens. Thus Virgil says: *sedet aeternumque sedebit infelix Theseus;* though Horace, it is true, speaks differently: *Nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro vincula Pirithoo.*[2] All these mythical stories are nothing but means of disguising this appearance, which completely resembles that of other heroic families. There is, moreover, quite a different Attic account of the immigration of the Ionians; for it is also said, that Ion, son of Xuthus, was received by the Athenians as Polemarchus: here then we see no friendly reception, but the Ionians appear at once as rulers.[3]

[2] *Aen.* vi. 617; Horat. *Carm.* iv. 7.

[3] The Ionians, again, are said to have migrated from Attica to Aegialea, whence they afterwards returned. See Strab. p. 383, c.—Ed.

But the fact that the Ionians were the rulers might afterwards easily be forgotten in consequence of a reaction. For by the side of the ruling people there existed in Attica, from the earliest times, another under the name of δῆμος or the commonalty. According to the universal experience, which we must bear in mind in regard to all political constitutions of antiquity, the practice was, that after a conquest, the ancient or native population, unless it was reduced to slavery, and thus dissolved (as was the case, *e. g.*, in Magna Graecia, where the Pelasgians became the bondmen of the Achaean colonists) formed a distinct body by itself, standing under the sovereignty of the ruling people, but having no share in their institutions. Such must have been the case in Attica. In the history of modern times, too, this pregnant observation has not been duly attended to. When after the conquest, the Kentish men revolted, and the English demanded of their king the recognition of the laws of Edward the Confessor, we must not imagine that the Normans are meant there—the king's people had nothing to do with the affair—but they were the ancient inhabitants of Kent, who had capitulated, retained their rights, and had not adopted the *coutumes* of the Normans; there the ancient law of succession also was still in force. Hence the movement was confined to the Anglo-Saxons, and the Normans had nothing to do with it. This distinction goes through the whole history of the middle ages; and whoever does not bear it in mind, or imagines that, in consequence of the migration of nations, or of subsequent conquest, the original inhabitants had been absolutely reduced to slavery, is labouring under a most grievous mistake, and is like one who walks with his eyes closed. I can refer you to my history of Rome, where I have fully examined this subject.[4] I have there established the fact that the commonalty in the cities comprises the whole body of free men who do not participate in the sovereign power; and I constantly find additional proofs to confirm what I have there said. Within these few days I have discovered a fresh one in Meyer von Knonau's History of Switzerland, a work written in a very excellent

[4] Comp. *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 405, foll.; also *Lectures on Roman History*, vol. i. p. 93, foll.

spirit, and deserving of all praise: it was not until about the year 1720, that the people of Berne changed the inscription on their seal: *Civitas et communitas Bernensis* into *Res publica Bernensis*. The excellent chronicle of Cologne is likewise of great importance in this respect: from it we can best learn the constitutions of the cities in general, and hence also those of the other German cities in the middle ages. Old Nicholas Karbach, unlearned as he was, yet in his translation of Livy, had a clear insight into the circumstances described, and hit the right thing in rendering *T. Quinctio ex patribus*, this or that one *ex plebe collega datus*, by "To T. Quinctius, who was elected from among the *houses* (*Geschlechter*), so and so was given from the *commonalty* (*Gemeinde*)." This exactly confirms what I have said about the commonalty: the houses and the commonalty were essentially opposites. Such a *demos*, or commonalty, existed in Attica beside the ancient race, and was not contained in it. This fact has not yet been sufficiently recognised, and in Greek history the old erroneous notions are still kept up. The party disputes which occur in the Attic demos,[5] are those which always show themselves, when the demos begins to feel its own power, and is strong enough to desire a union and equal rights with the burgesses. The latter then form one party, and the demos the other; and as soon as the demos has acquired sufficient strength it unites with the burgesses.

From the existence of this demos, you must see that Attica was conquered by a foreign people, the Ionians. We may, without committing an error, call the ancient Atticans Cranai, if we prefer that ancient designation. This was originally the name of the Atticans "as a distinct branch of the Pelasgians," while afterwards the name is also applied to the new Athenian people. Wherever different tribes settle one after another in the same country, the names in the course of time accumulate, and are given to the same people, as if they were synonymes.

[5] "No where do we find better expositions of the ancient names of these parties, than in the republics of Switzerland. In Graubünden we find 'the people of the mountain,' and 'the people in the valley,' which answers to the Greek διάκριοι and πεδιεῖς; the πάραλοι are 'the people of the coast.'"

It was the later Alexandrians in particular, the rhetoricians and poets, who confounded names which earlier writers had accurately distinguished: thus they speak of Mopsopia, Cranai, and the like.

The four tribes of the Ionians are undoubted; their names were Γελέοντες (this is the right form and not Τελέοντες), Αἰγικορεῖς, Ἀργάδες and Ὅπλητες. These names, from their resemblance to those of castes, had led me for a long time[6] to believe that they alluded to the existence of castes in Attica; they may in Greek signify priests, warriors, agriculturists, and shepherds, and the tribes have accordingly been regarded as so many castes. Ἀργάδες was taken as ἐργάται, and it is not impossible that the latter form might have been changed into the former; but besides this somewhat violent change, the explanation became rather unsatisfactory, for this reason, that the class of the ὁπλῆτες, which surely ought to have been at least the second, is mentioned last, and hence this name has been connected with ὁπλότεροι, the younger. But G. Hermann, in his preface to the Ion of Euripides, denies the allusion of these names to castes altogether; and I agree with him. The four Attic tribes have no reference whatever to castes, they are only an ordinary national division, the names of which are indeed strange; but we can make nothing of them. According to another account, the original number of the Attic tribes was three; and this may be true, if we refer the statement to the ancient conquered people, the *demos;* but as they are mentioned under the new names of εὐπατρίδαι, γεωμόροι, δημιουργοί, etc., the statement is quite uncertain. This has already been intimated by G. Hermann; and I express it still more emphatically, that these three tribes must be rejected. I am, indeed, abstractedly inclined to believe, that the division into three tribes, which we find among the Dorians and Romans, and which the Italian Tyrrhenians seem to have had in common with the Achaeans, existed also among the ancient Pelasgian inhabitants of Attica, but at the same time I am of opinion that it must be looked for rather in the ancient designations, "people of the hills," "people of the plain," etc.

[6] Compare *History of Rome,* vol. i. p. 294.

LECTURE XXV.

In attempting to separate and arrange the periods and elements in ancient Greek history, we must be prepared for frequently meeting with different cases, in which we cannot say with certainty, whether a given historical fact is to be referred to this or to that relation. Such are the accounts of the ancient *dodecapolis* of Attica: it is difficult to say to what period it must be assigned, though it is probable that it belongs to the ante-Ionian period, and corresponds to a subdivision of the three tribes of the Cranaï into twelve; but in the Ionian period, too, we find such a division into twelve, in the case of the *phratriae*. Everywhere in Greece we meet with a twofold division. In many cases, there existed a fundamental division into three phylae or tribes, as, for example, among the Dorians, probably among the earliest Athenians, and among the Arcadians, where we find the three tribes of the Maenalians, Parrhasians, and Azanians. In this Arcadian trichotomy each of the three tribes is subdivided into four parts. The same trichotomy also occurs among the Italian nations, probably those of the Tyrrhenian stock; at Rome, as at Sparta, each of the three was subdivided into ten; and it is possible that this subdivision into ten existed among all the Dorians. The other fundamental division is that into four tribes. The nations among which we find the division into three, are evidently independent of the system of castes; but we are on the whole too much inclined to conceive the tribes as partaking of the nature of castes. This is one of those conceptions which were generally adopted about the end of the last century. I myself for a long time believed it to be correct; but I have subsequently convinced myself, that the tribes have nothing to do with a system of castes. Such a system, it is true, has often been the characteristic feature of tribes, but wherever this has been the case, it arose out of conquests. The fundamental divisions into three and four, are frequently found combined in the subdivisions. Both divisions are of primitive origin; with those nations, among which no conquest can

be shown to have taken place, they were local divisions; but where a single city rises to the rank of a state, the division is commonly based upon the *gentes*. The trichotomy occurs in the Doric states of Peloponnesus, of which there were three, viz. Argos, Lacedaemon or Sparta, and Messene: there the original division of the people exists at the time of the conquest. They have several local subdivisions, but everywhere the Dorians appear as τριχάϊκες, or divided into three tribes. The subdivision in the separate Doric states appears to have been six-fold or thrice three-fold, as on the coasts of Asia Minor; in Rhodes it was three-fold. Wherever the number of tribes is four, each is subdivided into three, and where the number of the tribes is three, they are subdivided into four, so that the result is the same.[1] The *dodecapolis* of Attica, therefore, might represent the twelve *phratriae* of the four Ionic *phylae;* but it is more probable, that it was an ante-Ionian division, whether the fundamental division was into four or into three tribes.

Cecrops and his race disappear from the ancient history of Attica; Cranaus is only mentioned here and there; and Theseus disappears, no one knows how. I have already mentioned the different ways, in which his disappearance is accounted for. According to some accounts, he introduced the democratic form of government; but was rewarded with ingratitute, and was expelled by Menestheus, for which there is no other reason but because, in the catalogue of ships, the latter is mentioned as prince of Athens. But that catalogue is a strange piece of composition. In the Iliad nothing is said about the Theseids. Theseus goes to Scyros, and subsequently when his bones were found there, they were gigantic, like those of Orestes. The heroes belong to an entirely different period from that of later mortals, and are of quite a different stature. That the Odyssey is of a much more recent date, may be seen from the fact, that in the Iliad the heroes are conceived vaguely as mighty and gigantic beings, while the poet of the Odyssey conceives Odysseus as a man of small stature, and of form and size like other men. The poet of the Iliad would have considered it impossible, that Ajax, or any

[1] "The terms ἔθνη and φυλαὶ are in many cases used as synonymes."

other of his heroes, could have concealed himself under a ram, and have been thus carried out of the cave, as Odysseus is described to have done. Polyphemus still belongs to those ancient heroes. There are many more such distinguishing characteristics. What I here call much more recent, means a hundred, or perhaps two hundred years; and this is a very long time, for a period of a few years may produce mighty changes, while sometimes slight changes are the work of a century. In Italy, matters at the end of the eighteenth century were almost the same as they had been at the beginning; whereas in Germany, the period from 1750 to 1770 was equal to a century in its effects upon literature, opinions, general relations, in short upon every thing. Even if no date is printed in a German book, we may easily discover at once, whether it has been printed before the year 1750 or after 1760. Consequently the period of such a change as that from the Iliad to the Odyssey cannot be measured.

Now Menestheus is prince of Athens; but, afterwards, the Menestheids disappear, and the Theseid Thymoetes is again in possession of the throne. Then come the Nelids, who were expelled from Pylos, and were received at Athens. Thymoetes is unwarlike; Athens is hard pressed by the Boeotians; the Nelid Melanthus accepts the challenge to a single combat with the Boeotian Xanthus, conquers him by stratagem, and gains the sovereignty. According to others, it was Andropompus, and not Melanthus, that conquered Xanthus. Another story again states, that Melanthus was not a Nelid; that the Nelids indeed came to Athens, but did not reign there; others again say, that the Nelids were the ancestors of Neileus, who went to Ionia.[2] Everything is here in a state of confusion. It is remarkable to see with what a ridiculous tenacity the mythical history is believed by the scholars of other nations, especially by the French, who are otherwise not over fond of believing. But I will explain to you, by an example, how the matter stands, and how the most different traditions are current by the side of one another. The grammatical period of Alexandria has much

[2] Supply the words, "and is otherwise called a son of Melanthus."—Ed.

that is excellent; and if I had the power of conjuring, I would summon an Alexandrian grammarian to appear before me: but they also had much that was perverse, as all of us have to pay our tribute to the time in which we live. Thus there existed different versions of these traditions, which were current one by the side of the other; and those grammarians melted them together in a singular manner; leaving out some things here, and adding others there, they made them up in one whole. A particularly striking example is furnished by Pausanias (an author of mediocre qualities, but whose work, on account of the matter it contains, a scholar cannot read too often, nor, at the same time, too cautiously) in his account of the succession of the kings of Thebes. There we find the greatest changes of this kind: one race after another appears; and one retires to make room for another. Cadmus goes to the Encheleans for no other reason but because another tradition, having in view the Autochthones or Spartae, takes no notice of him. Echion is one of the Spartae, and his son Pentheus is ruler, but as he is persecuted by Dionysus, we again have members of the race of Cadmus. They reign until the first wars between the brothers Eteocles and Polynices; they then disappear, and Creon the son of Menoeceus appears as ruler. Was he originally a brother of Jocaste, or was he introduced as such by the poets? Creon disappears without leaving issue; and his place is occupied by Laodamas, a son of Eteocles. Overpowered by the Epigoni, he retires and goes to the Illyrians. Thersander, one of the Epigoni, then comes forward, and disappears again; he accompanies the Atreids to Troy, and falls by the hand of Telephus in Mysia, to make room for Peneleus in the catalogue of ships. Thus another race is in possession of the throne of Thebes. But Peneleus falls, and the descendants of Cadmus again come to the throne, until the very last is expelled by the Erinnyes of Laius. This is a striking example of the variety of changes: we have here to some extent traditions running parallel to and independent of one another, which have been combined into one by the Alexandrians.

For these reasons, I do not place the slightest reliance on the history of the kings of Attica, down to the very end of it, any

more than on the story of the death of Codrus, which, in the ancient tradition, was assuredly not represented in the manner in which it is now current, and according to which the Dorians lost their courage in consequence of their having killed the king; but the ancient account frankly owned that the king's death had the effect of a talisman, by which the Dorians were conquered. His self-sacrifice is quite an Attic conception, like that of the daughters of Leon and Erechtheus, a branch of that belief which pervades the history of Attica, that the state was saved by the sacrifice of its kings. But who would, on this account, doubt the fact, that Athens was once governed by kings? All the tribes of Greece anciently had kings belonging to some heroic family. It is even possible, that among the names of kings which have come down to us, one or other is a genuine name of a real king; but he who could distinguish these from those invented by the poets, would be to me a *magnus Apollo;* and if any one presumed to do it, I should refuse to listen to him as an arrogant person. All we can say is, that there were kings at Athens, and that it is true and very credible that they belonged to the race (γένος) of the Neleids; and lastly, that subsequently they obtained the name of ἄρχοντες, that of βασιλεὺς being taken from them. But the name of the first archon for life, Medon, itself signifies "the ruler," and I am very far from considering it as an historical name: like that of Codrus, it belongs to the mythical period. Chronologers may say what they please, all the years of the archons for life have as little authenticity as those of Theseus and Erechtheus. We see only a few features which we may translate. One of them is the migration of Neleus to Ionia, which cannot be otherwise interpreted than that people actually emigrated from Attica into Ionia. This fact itself I do not doubt at all, any more than the fact that, perhaps at a somewhat later time, the Ionians spread their conquests from Attica over the Cyclades; and these very emigrations may have been the cause and occasion of the Atticans to some extent shaking off the yoke of the Ionians, and of the demos recovering great power in Attica. Afterwards, it is true, the four tribes of the Ionians continued to exist; but along with the φυλαί, φρατρίαι, and γένη, we also find the inhabitants of the

country, or the demos, enjoying a political existence. The traditions of the expedition of Neileus[2] to Ionia is a transplacing of the royal dynasty into those parts. "The details, as, for example, that a swarm of bees point out the road to the Ionians, belong altogether to poetry."

In Ionia again the Ionians appear divided into twelve parts, just as they are said to have been in Achaia. There is this remarkable circumstance connected with the name of the Ionians, that it is the one, by which all Oriental nations designate all Greeks, calling them Javan. This we see from the Old Testament, and it is the case among the Arabs and Persians of the present day, as it was among the ancient Persians. We know this from Herodotus, and from the joke in the Acharnenses of Aristophanes, where the false ambassador of the Persians tells the Athenians, that they should not obtain any money, and calls them, in a somewhat corrupt form, Ἰαονᾶν. This circumstance proves, that the Ionians must have inhabited those districts in very ancient times, which cannot be well reconciled with the ordinary notions of the Ionian settlements in Asia Minor. The settlements of the Athenians in the Cyclades may belong to somewhat more recent times than those on the coast of Asia Minor. At a later period, the Ionians of Athens are found spread abroad everywhere, and that, too, in the countries where the catalogue of ships points out nations altogether different; as, for example, in Euboea, whither the Ionians are said to have gone from Attica; afterwards in the Chalcidian and Eretrian colonies; they are, in general, diffused far and wide. These colonies were not called Attic, though they regarded Athens as their mother city. This is a preliminary sketch of the earliest affairs of Attica. We shall hereafter give the history of the Greek colonies, and now pass on to the other great branch of the Greeks, the Dorians.

Herodotus says of the Dorians that they were an ἔθνος που-

[2] "Neileus, as the name of the leader of the Codrids, is more correct than Neleus. The name was probably invented, and reminds us of Neilos; the son of Neileus is called Aegyptus. Relations are here concealed, which we cannot discover."—1826.

λυπλάνητον χάρτα, which had also changed its name, and were distinguished from the Ionians or Pelasgians as an ἔθνος Ἑλληνικόν. They connected their own traditions, and perhaps still more those of the nations subdued by them, with the race of the ancient mythical rulers in Peloponnesus. This seems to have no other foundation than that, according to a peculiarity, to which I have directed your attention in the history of Cambyses, the nation after a change of government connects the new ruler with itself. When a conquered people again collects itself, gaining fresh strength and rising against oppression, it endeavours, in some way or other, to appropriate the ruler to itself, οἰκειεῦνται, as Herodotus says. In this manner, the Egyptians identified Cambyses with themselves, and afterwards the Persians and Egyptians did the same in regard to Alexander. What trouble has been taken by the Anglo-Saxon chroniclers to connect the family of William the Conqueror with the Saxons! The same was the case with the Peloponnesians, who attempted to render the foreign dominion bearable, by connecting the princes of the Dorians, their tyrants, with the ancient family of the Perseidae, which before the time of the Atreids had possessed the lawful sovereignty in Peloponnesus. Thus I account for the origin of the tradition, that Hyllus, the son of Heracles, was adopted by Aegimius, the ancient king of the Dorians. "The most ancient tradition evidently connected the Doric princes with Aegimius, and then again put him in connection with the Heracleids." There existed, as late as the time of the Alexandrians, an epic poem on this Aegimius, which was certainly of ancient origin, and which, no doubt, also contained the stories about Hyllus. The conquest itself was related in the Naupactia. Thus the Heracleids were connected with the earlier mythical families of Peloponnesus, and were by adoption introduced into the royal stock of the Dorians. Such things are, of course, of no historical value, nor will we allow ourselves to be guided by them; but we mention this expedition of the Dorians into Peloponnesus only as a conquest of that peninsula by a northern people which descended from its mountains.

In regard to the previous seats of the Dorians, we afterwards find a Δωρὶς τετράπολις which itself may perhaps have been a

τρίπολις, though it is certainly more probable that the ancient Doris was a τετράπολις. It is possible that there may have been two other tetrapoleis, so that the division into three here again passed over into a division into four, and thus, perhaps, the tetrapolis itself constituted one-third of a greater body, a δωδεκάπολις, of which the two other thirds were lost. But it certainly is also possible, that one-fourth of the one tetrapolis may have been lost.

LECTURE XXVI.

It is one of the most mysterious and strangest phenomena to find it stated, that the great Doric nation of Peloponnesus came from the small Δωρὶς τετράπολις near mount Pindus. But the supposition that this little district contained their original seats is absolutely impossible. There are, however, other similar, though equally mysterious, phenomena which may throw light upon it. As an instance, I will mention the nation of the Angli and their relation to the small district in the duchy of Schleswig, which is at present known under the name of Angeln. That small tract of country, though it is commonly and thoughtlessly believed, cannot have been the native land of the nation of the Angli who migrated to Britain. They did, no doubt, occupy the modern Angeln, but their country must have been far more extensive, so that the district now bearing their name contains only a small portion which remained, at the time of the emigration, between the Jutes, Frisians and Saxons. In like manner, I am firmly convinced, that the Doric nation, previous to its migration into Peloponnesus, occupied a far larger extent of country, either including a part of the north of Aetolia or Phocis, or any other of the adjacent countries. "Such a state of things is alluded to in the statement of Herodotus, that the Dorians had wandered much, and formerly dwelt on mount Pindus. When the ancients speak of migrations, they frequently

allude only to very ancient accounts of the seats occupied by nations before they disappeared, or before they were torn asunder by immigrations; and, according to this view, the Dorians would have occupied the country from mount Pindus to Parnassus and Oeta." A migration of Aetolians into Elis and Peloponnesus is mentioned as having occurred simultaneously with the Doric expedition, or is at least put in a legendary connection with it, and that too in a tradition which we cannot well refuse to believe. But the expedition of the Dorians here appears in the light of an actual emigration rather than of a conquest, while that of the Aetolians must be conceived as an expedition undertaken with a view to make conquests. The Aetolians doubtless were not nearly so numerous as the Dorians, who founded three kingdoms in Peloponnesus, while the former made themselves masters of Elis alone. But to speculate upon their numbers would be foolish and absurd.

We must pass over all the detail connected with the return of the Heracleids as fabulous. The expedition is described as a return of the Heracleids, "who establish their claims to the government of Peloponnesus," and the people, compared with the royal family, plays a subordinate part: "this is altogether a poetical mode of dealing with a subject, for the poet, preserving the detail, forgets that which is of a general character." Moreover, all that is related about the first attempt of Hyllus to invade the peninsula by the Isthmus—how afterwards the Heracleids tried it by sea, and built ships—how the oracle commanded them to follow the three-eyed Oxylus—how then they met the one-eyed Oxylus riding on an ass—and how finally, under his guidance, they conquered Peloponnesus from Naupactus; all this, I repeat, is fabulous, and we consign it to its place among mythical stories.[1] The history of the great epochs and migrations that belong to periods of which no contemporary written records are extant, has this great disadvantage, that the historical accounts of those changes do not extend down to the real beginning of the truly historical times, but subsequently the gap

[1] "*Fabulae* like the Greek μῦθος are words which have lost their dignity. Stories like that of Coriolanus and others were certainly not called *fabulae; fabulari* and *confabulari* signify to 'relate stories.'"

is filled up where both ends are known, and where it is certain that the inhabitants are later immigrants. The instinctive desire of man to fill up what is deficient, which manifests itself in spiritual and intellectual matters as well as in the physical process of development, led men to invent and record the story of an immigration. When this is once done, everything, according to a natural paralogism, is credulously taken for true tradition, and posterity forgets that the things recorded many centuries after the event, though the record itself may be centuries old, yet has no more authenticity, than if the story were now written down for the first time. The traditions which Mr. Ellis, the missionary, wrote down in Hawai, and to which I have already alluded, are a remarkable instance of this kind. These traditions of the natives are very untrustworthy, even when they do not go back further than a few generations; now, if we imagine that they were recorded a few thousand years ago, and had come down to us, would they be more authentic than they now are? Such is the nature of the accounts about the Doric migration. The Dorians certainly did immigrate into Peloponnesus: they are by no means the ancient inhabitants who dwelt there in the mythical times of the Danai, as for example in the reign of the Atreids; but can we infer from this, that we know anything historical about their immigration? My decided opinion is, that we do not possess the slightest historical knowledge of the circumstances accompanying the conquest. All the stories about it, as those of the fights of Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, with the Dorians, of the Achaeans throwing themselves upon the Ionians, of the emigration of the latter, and the like, are quite irreconcileable with the traditions of the preceding period: the whole account does not possess a shadow of historical truth. "It is here that we miss Ephorus very painfully." It is a curious circumstance, that in all the three Doric kingdoms the filiation of the names in the royal families does not connect them with the first ancestor as his successors; thus we find no Cresphontids in Messene, no Aristodemids in Sparta, nay not even Eurysthenids and Proclids, for these names were not in use, but the Eurypontids and Agiads are referred to Eurysthenes and Procles, just as in Messene the Aepytids were traced to Cresphontes. It

is quite certain that these things do not belong to history: Cresphontes and Aristodemus are absolutely nothing but heroes, eponymous names of heroes like those from which the Attic phylae derived their names. It is a mere genealogical invention of the Spartans, that the ancestors of their two kings are described as twin brothers; such was certainly not the view represented in the ancient order of things, as is clear even from the nature, forms, and institutions of the Spartan Gerusia, which I have explained in my history of Rome.[2] In all antiquity, the forms of a state are based upon numerical combinations, and in most cases upon a trichotomy, which was further subdivided, sometimes by four and sometimes by ten. Thus we have senates of 300, and where there is a division into four, as in Attica during the Ionic period, of 400, and in all the Achaean cities, as at Croton in the time of Pythagoras[3] of 300. But a senate of twenty-eight, like the Gerusia of Sparta, is altogether opposed to the notions of antiquity. It might be said that they represented the number of days in a lunar month, but the number *seven* had not the significance among the Greeks which it had among the Phoenicians and Jews. The kings, moreover, were members of the Gerusia, so that there were thirty Gerontes, one for each ὠβά or γένος, and ten for each phyle. Each of the kings represented an *oba* or *genos*, and they did not belong to the same *phyle*. "The opinion about the twin origin of the kings, therefore, is nothing but a disguised account of the union of two phylae, like the union of the Ramnes and Tities at Rome." These two phylae, however, are not equal to each other, but the one always ranks higher than the other: one of the kings belongs to the noblest race, and the other, the Eurypontid, to a lower one, οἰχιης ἐὼν ὑποδεεστέρης, as Herodotus says. "We see then that the Eurypontids were inferior in rank to the Agiads, just as the Tities were inferior to the Ramnes." Eurysthenes and Procles are the eponymi of those families, and Eurypon and Agis the ancient kings to whom the families were actually traced;

[2] Vol. i. p. 339.

[3] "In features of this kind we can often recognise what is correct and ancient. Thus, in the life of Pythagoras, we find several things which are certainly derived from Aristoxenus" (Iamblich. § 254).

and they may be historical personages. The first kings after the conquest of Sparta are not authentic: authenticity does not commence in the history of the Spartan kings, until the time of Eurypon and Agis: from their time I have no hesitation in recognising them as historical, though it does not follow, that all details related about them are historical. The most important events are still uncertain in their connection with individuals, and have undoubtedly not always been assigned to the right person. In the days of Herodotus people did not believe that they knew much about the early kings, but afterwards they began more and more to imagine that they had an accurate knowledge of them.

The number of the Doric states in Peloponnesus was three, according to the characteristic division of the nation; "this division into three was unconnected with the number of their leaders." What Plato in his Republic says about these Doric states is very well worth reading and pondering. I regret that he did not write a history of Greece, which he would have been quite competent to do; it would have been a very excellent work, and perhaps more salutary than many a speculation; he might have been a Thucydides in his way. All he says about the Doric states is to the point. We shall here proceed in a direction quite the reverse of that which is commonly followed in the accounts of that period: we go against the current of the stream towards its source; where it flows from wild districts; and where we can no longer pass along its banks, we must be satisfied with inquiring after and tracing the direction of its course. I know nothing of the foundation of these Doric states, nothing of the division of the country among Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus: I leave these things to the tragic poets; they belong to the mythical history, which, however, must be familiar to every scholar. The sons of Antiope and the family of Cresphontes likewise do not belong to our history. When history commences, we find the Dorians as conquerors settled among subdued Achaeans, and their conquest is divided into three very unequal states. The belief that the lot of Messene was the most enviable, is one of those points for which it is impossible

to account, for Argos, the kingdom of the Temenids, was by far the largest and wealthiest.

Argos embraced not only the country afterwards called Argolis including Acte, Corinth, and Sicyon, but also Phlius and the western coast of the Argolic gulf as far as Malea; and Philip, son of Amyntas, subsequently restored to Argolis these ancient boundaries. Aegina also belonged to it, and in its widest extent, even Megara. Hence the story of the stratagem of Cresphontes, whereby he secured Messene to himself, and of the superiority of Messene, must have arisen at a later time, perhaps not long before the Persian wars, when Argos was very small and in a state of decay. I wish to convince my hearers and readers that I am an enemy to paradoxes, and that my object is to arrive at a result, which does not differ from the basis of the common opinion. Argos, as a city, is not older than the Doric period; in the ante-Doric times Mycenae was the capital of Argos, and this Argos is never anything else than the name of the country. Our own fatherland is strangely cut up into a number of states, and on a map it presents a most singular appearance; but it would be a most beautiful *ensemble* in comparison with Peloponnesus; if we conceive it, as we must, from the description in the Homeric catalogue. To put Argos thus by the side of Mycenae is the greatest absurdity; the distance between them is scarcely four English miles, and they almost run into one another, whence they have been so frequently confounded by the tragic writers, as by Sophocles. Two capitals of two considerable kingdoms cannot have been situated so close to each other. For this reason subsequent stories made Diomede disappear: in consequence of domestic afflictions he emigrates to Italy, and his kingdom becomes vacant; it is given to Mycenae, and all difficulty is got over. But the plain and evident truth is, that Argos as a city did not exist before the time of the Dorians. The ancient fortress of Larissa may have existed for a long time previously, but the kingdom of Diomede by the side of Mycenae is only an imaginary double kingdom, which the mythus has vaguely placed in the ante-Hellenic period in the country of Apia, and to remove which many attempts were made even

in early times.[4] The fact is that the Dorians in dividing the country, according to the peculiarity of the Greek tribes, into three great states, also built capitals for themselves from which they governed their dominions.

Whether Messene in ancient times was a town, or only the fort Ithome on the hill, is a question which was disputed among the ancients themselves. I have no doubt that Messene belongs to the earliest part of the Doric period, that is, to the time of the kings: the walls which are seen to this day, certainly belong to a much earlier age than that of Epaminondas. Sparta, too, was newly built; in Homer it is called Lacedaemon; Sparta is a more recent name, and I do not consider it improbable, that it was altogether a Doric city, and was built by the Dorians. My opinion is, that Amyclae was the ancient capital of Lacedaemon, and in the Achaean period, Lacedaemon was probably the name of the country. At Amyclae the Agiads were born and worshipped; there dwelt Tyndareus, there were all the sanctuaries, etc. Menelaus, it is true, dwelt in the city of Lacedaemon, but this is a statement of the Odyssey, concerning the late origin of which I have already spoken to you. Accordingly, I believe, that Amyclae stood in the same relation to the more recent town of Sparta in which Mycenae stood to Argos. "What kingdoms the Dorians found existing in Messene and Laconia, we are utterly unable to say. The few traces which we have in this respect, are quite irreconcilable with Homer and the Catalogue. The Peloponnesian tradition knows only an Atreid kingdom in Lacedaemon and a portion of Argolis,

[4] "If a man will be but tolerably reasonable in regard to the Homeric poems, he cannot believe that the Catalogue of ships is a genuine part of the Iliad. It is quite distinct, and evidently belongs to a later time, in which the Doric colonies on the coast of Asia had already existed so long, that it could not offend to find them mentioned there, and transferred to the time of the Trojan war. Rhodes is thus mentioned as a Heracleid colony, and this is to my mind irresistible evidence, that the Catalogue was composed at a later period. Rhodes is mentioned among the seven places which claimed to be the birth-place of Homer, and we also hear of a Rhodian recension of Homer. My belief is, that the Catalogue was introduced in that recension, and that this was the occasion of making Homer a Rhodian. There can be no other cause for that ἔρις."

under the dynasty of Agamemnon: while, according to others, the kingdom of Agamemnon extended over Argolis and Achaia, and that of Menelaus comprised Lacedaemon; the Odyssey seems to intimate that Menelaus was succeeded by a late-born son. The Pylian kingdom alone, comprising Messene and a part of what was afterwards called Elis, can perhaps be reconciled with Homer."

In the three kingdoms in which the Dorians established themselves, there arose what we should call a feudal relation. I think I am the first who has drawn attention to this fact, though it is plainly indicated by Strabo from Ephorus. The number of the Dorian immigrants was no doubt far greater than that of the Lombards in Italy, or of the Franks in Gaul; but still they were a small number compared with the ancient Achaeans. I cannot undertake here to prove every single point; I have, in my lectures on ethnography, already spoken upon the ancient division. Messene and Sparta were divided each into six feudal principalities, including the capitals, the seats of royalty; Argos may perhaps have been divided into a still greater number of principalities. Yet this supposition cannot be well reconciled with the fact, that the subdivision into six was as peculiar to the Doric character as to that of the Latins; the latter had six days for the *feriae Latinae*, six hundred families of Alba are conceived to have formed a settlement at Lavinium, and thirty Albensian and thirty Latin towns are mentioned. In like manner the division into six is found everywhere among the Dorians, as in the ἑξάπολις in Asia; they are τριχάϊκες, but the number *two* was taken twice, just as the *sex-suffragia* in Rome were equal to twice three. Several of the most important towns in Argolis may have been built after the Doric immigration, and probably Corinth also, for all that is said about it in earlier times refers to Ephyra, and not to Corinth; but I know of no certain indications as to whether Ephyra stood on the site of Corinth, or in a neighbouring district. It might be said, that in Argolis also there existed only six places; for several which afterwards appear independent, were no doubt connected in earlier times. But it is impossible to form conjectures on this point.

These principalities are involved in obscurity: some seem to

have been given to Achaeans who had submitted, others to kinsmen of the Dorians: "Amyclae, for example, according to the account of Ephorus in Strabo, was in the hands of a native prince, who had obtained it as a reward for his treachery." The Dorian population, according to all appearance, was concentrated in the capitals, "like the Messenian Dorians in Stenyclaros," and the Doric yoke was imposed upon the country very gradually. The feudal principalities alone at first owed allegiance to the king, and the Achaeans in those districts were free citizens. Messene presented a great and essential difference, in this respect, from the two other states, especially from Sparta. A lawgiver, who is called Cresphontes, had placed the ancient subject population of Messene, that is, the country districts, on a footing of equality with the ruling Dorians. As the Visigoths in Spain put the Romans on an equal footing with themselves, so the two nations in Messene were united and amalgamated, and at the time when the war between Sparta and Messene commenced, the principalities had already disappeared in the latter country. In the traditions, we only hear of one body of Messenian people. At Sparta, matters were in a very different condition, for there the distinction between the ancient Lacedaemonians and the Doric Spartans remained.[5]

LECTURE XXVII.

THROUGHOUT the whole extent of Greece, with the exception of those parts where there is no trace of conquest, we find a distinction between subjects and bondmen, or περίοικοι and serfs, for whom the Greek language has in reality no general designa-

[5] "According to Ephorus, Cresphontes wanted to divide the country into six πόλεις, of which Stenyclaros was to be the capital, and he was willing to grant to the Pylians the same rights as those of the Dorians. But the latter, it is said, murmured; and for this reason he made Stenyclaros alone a πόλις, and the remaining country was divided into δῆμοι."—1826.

tion, but who in particular cases are called θῆτες or πενέσται. If we wish to have a general appellation, *Thetes* is perhaps the most suitable, though it is correct only in regard to particular parts of Greece. The Perioeci are the inhabitants of the country, and so completely differ from the other class, that the name of the one can never be applied to the other. Wherever Perioeci are mentioned, it is always implied that they are personally free, whereas the *Thetes* or *Penestae* are bondmen, and have no political existence. The former have a municipal or civil existence.

In Sparta we thus find a distinction between περίοικοι and εἵλωτες, but the Helots in Laconia are by no means a peculiarity of the Spartans. Such bondmen occur in Argolis under the name of Gymnesii, in Crete under that of Clarotae, and similarly in Chios, Syracuse and elsewhere; "but in many places they had disappeared in the historical period, just as servitude once existed throughout modern Europe, but disappeared in many places spontaneously, and without any legal enactment, by the natural progress of free institutions. The ancient grammarians have collected a great many terms signifying serfs, who must not be confounded with slaves. The name εἵλωτες is commonly derived from the town of Helos, which is mentioned as one of the six states that existed as principalities of the Perioeci. When the Spartans, it is said, deprived these principalities of their rights and their independence, the others quietly submitted; but the Helots resisted, and were therefore reduced to servitude. I believe this whole account to be very doubtful; it seems to have only an arbitrary etymological origin, and the derivation of the word εἵλως from Ἕλος is highly improbable. As I find that such a state of servitude existed in many other parts of Greece, without any such explanation, I do not see why, according to the analogy of those other states, the Helots should not have had an earlier origin, and why their falling into that condition should not be regarded as contemporaneous with the Doric conquest, as was the case in Argolis. The subjugation of Helos is commonly ascribed to King Agis, who is the first historical personage in the series of Spartan kings.

"All the Greek tribes which were neither Dorians nor Ionians,

are comprised by the ancients under the name Αἰολεῖς, by which, however, we must not understand a distinct race or tribe. Αἰολοι signifies 'the mixed,' and ἀολλεῖς 'the assembled:' their relation to the Ionians and Dorians is that of a commonalty to a privileged race. The earlier writers include among them the Boeotians, Aetolians, the Achaeans in Peloponnesus and Phthiotis, and the inhabitants of Thessaly previous to the conquest; the Phocians and Acarnanians did not belong to them.[1] The dialects of these tribes, however, differed much too widely to be reduced to the three classes of Doric, Ionic and Aeolic; and in the early times the variety was still greater than afterwards, when they were mixed together." In Peloponnesus we have yet to consider the Arcadians.

It is universally acknowledged that they were descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the country, the Pelasgians; and they traced their genealogy to the first men, Azan (?) and Pelasgus. They accordingly appear as Autochthones, and are divided into three tribes, Maenalians, Parrhasians and Azanians; in later times the first two tribes only are mentioned. Of this division only some isolated traces occur here and there, for the ancient condition of Arcadia had ceased, even before the time when we have contemporary historians. In the earliest period there existed in Arcadia only small towns, but in the historical ages some important cities, such as Mantinea, Tegea, and others, had risen among those tribes, and had dissolved the ancient bond which had kept the three tribes together. I have already observed, that in those parts of Greece, in which there existed a trichotomy, there was frequently a subdivision into four. Now, according to Pausanias, and also an inscription, there existed at Tegea four phylae, whence it is probable, that originally each of the three Arcadian tribes was subdivided into four, and that when they were broken up, the separate towns adopted for themselves the division into four. In the early or legendary times of Arcadia, kings are mentioned; but this unity of the country is very problematical, and at any rate

[1] See Niebuhr's Review of Heeren's *Ideen*, etc., in his *Klein. Schrift.*, vol. i. p. 119, foll. Many points of these Lectures are placed in their proper light by that Review, whence we refer to it once for all.—Ed.

belongs to the ante-historical ages; it can neither be affirmed nor denied. The Arcadians repelled the attacks of the Dorians, and always preserved their independence.

Among the remaining countries of Peloponnesus, we must notice Elis, which is divided into two parts, Elis Proper and Pisatis. "Previously to its conquest by the Aetolians, there existed in Elis the kingdom of the Epeans, which was quite independent, but very small." Pisa on the Alpheus belonged, in early times, to Arcadia; and the neighbouring Triphylia continued to belong to it even at a later date. Elis was thus separated by Arcadia from the Doric countries; and it is therefore not credible, that the conquest of Elis by the Aetolians should have been contemporaneous with the Doric migration. In Elis the Aetolians dwelt as the ruling people; they were divided into three tribes, and had a senate of ninety members: the whole country was subject to them. For a long time the Aetolian dominion was confined to the northern part, which was afterwards called Elis; and there the Aetolians lived among the Epeans, the ancient inhabitants of the country, who had become their subjects. It was not till the historical times, that the territory of Pisa was reduced by the Aetolian Eleans to the condition of a subject country; subsequently Triphylia also was taken, and thus the Arcadians were shut out from the sea. I shall give you the history of the Eleans in its proper place in the course of time.

As to Achaia, tradition says, that formerly it had been an Ionic country, and that the Ionians were expelled by the Achaeans who had been driven from their homes at the time when the Dorians attacked and subdued the Achaean states. I will here mention the conjecture, that the expulsion of the Ionians by the Achaeans has nothing to do with the expedition of the Ionians into Attica, but that if the Achaeans did at all expel the Ionians from that country, which I do not dispute, this must have happened at a later time than the expedition against Athens. Moreover, it is at least doubtful, whether, if the Achaeans actually quitted Argolis under a capitulation, they did so in large numbers, and whether they were strong enough to make themselves masters of Aegialos. If we con-

sider the natural geographical connection, it is much more probable, that at one time the Ionians also possessed the districts between Achaia and Attica, that they were masters of Sicyon and Corinth, and that they were dispersed by the Dorians. "In one passage Ionia is alluded to as a country embracing the Isthmus. The fact of the twelve Achaean towns being at the same time the twelve Ionian ones, does not prove, that the Ionians did not extend further; for where such divisions exist, they are always reproduced even when the extent of territory is reduced, as is the case with the seven Frisian coastlands (*Seelande*) and the thirty Latin towns." However, we cannot much speculate upon this point; we keep to the historical fact, that the Achaeans dwelt on the north coast of Peloponnesus, the slope of the Arcadian mountains, in twelve towns, the number peculiar to them. The great emigration from that coast district is a surprising phenomenon, and it is hardly conceivable how the Achaeans, who in Peloponnesus were so feeble a people, could establish such important and powerful cities in Magna Graecia. This is one of the most obscure points in history, and in fact the history of the foundation of all the Greek colonies is obscure, although it belongs to the period subsequent to the commencement of the Olympiads. The common accounts of the establishment of the colonies are altogether untrustworthy.

Out of Peloponnesus, Megara belonged to the state of Argolis. Attica has already been discussed; and we have now to notice Boeotia. According to the earlier view, it contained two states, that of the Minyans and that of Thebes. The former do not appear as a Boeotian people; but the origin of the Boeotians is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. It is one of those points which are quite interwoven with the mythical history. I have already declared, that I have no doubt whatever of the Phoenician origin of Thebes. The Minyans are mentioned as a people belonging to a bygone age, in which they were a great nation, ruling even over the south of Thessaly; they, properly speaking, belong to the period preceding even the Trojan times. I believe, that in the earlier ages the expedition of the Argonauts was regarded as the end of the Minyan empire, in the same way as the

Trojan war was considered as the end of the Atreids and the Danai. For tradition carries the heroes to Colchis, where they gain their end, and thence they return by roads, which, according to the geographical notions of the time, are impossible, and on which they perish; but then, owing to some miraculous interference, they return, a circumstance which shows that this tradition is probably a combination of two different ones. This opinion seems to me plausible, though I do not care whether any one disputes it or not. The main point is, that the Minyans were a different race from the Danai, and that, like them, they disappear from history, and belong to the primitive ages of Greece. In the Catalogue, Orchomenos and the Minyans are still mentioned as independent, but as a smaller race than the people of the Boeotians. "The story that Orchomenos made Thebes tributary, etc., and was then subdued by Heracles, may have some historical foundation. It was a local tradition of Thebes, which, like so many others, was connected with the ancient Heracleae."

In the account of the origin of the Boeotians, tradition again plays between the two opposite poles, and two different traditions are made up into one. The one states, that they were Aeolians, who turned southward and immigrated into Boeotia at the time when the ancient Aeolian population of Thessaly was subdued by the invading Thesprotians: this is probably the ancient national tradition, and is, in fact, very credible. But in other traditions, the Boeotians are even before that time mentioned as inhabitants of Thebes, united with the Cadmeans: how then are they to come from Thessaly, the ancient Aemonia, if they dwelt in Boeotia even previously? A remedy is easily found; and it is said, that at an earlier date they had emigrated from Boeotia into Thessaly, in consequence of the war of the Epigoni, for Laodamas, conquered by the Epigoni, is said to have fled with his followers into Thessaly. These Boeotians, then, are represented as having afterwards returned. This view became established among the later Greeks, and is still the prevailing opinion. The persons who adopted it were puzzled only by the fact, that, according to the Catalogue, the Boeotians who appear before Ilium, dwelt in Thebes, and that this event occurs

just during the period of their absence, for it is said that they did not return from Thessaly till sixty years, or two generations after the destruction of Troy. This is a difficult point for them. For us it has no difficulty: the mention of the Boeotians in the Catalogue is in our eyes not an historical statement which can be taken as a proof of their existence in Boeotia in historical times, and I have already stated why it was thought necessary to assume an emigration: it is the usual play of migrations from A to B and from B to A. Our history knows nothing of the greatness of Orchomenos; it knows only one Boeotian people; this only being doubtful, whether the supremacy of Thebes over the rest of the country was in ancient times lawfully established, or whether it was only a later usurpation; what I here call lawful, is a right founded on conquest. It should, however, be remarked, that in Boeotia there is no trace of Penestae or serfs; they do not, in fact, occur in any of the countries between Peloponnesus and Thessaly, if we except the Thetes in Attica.

Phocis is contiguous to Boeotia. Respecting the *origines* of the Phocians we have no information nor any traditions. This much only seems certain, that in the earlier times, before they marched southward, the Dorians occupied a large portion of the country. The Phocians otherwise present the appearance of a people which had not suffered the vicissitudes of conquest; for they consisted of a number of small independent townships, among which Delphi alone rose above the others on religious grounds.

The Locrians, on the other hand, whose seats were on the Crissaen gulf and on the Euboean sea, underwent considerable changes. They were separated by the Phocians, and probably it was not by a portion of them having removed for purposes of conquest, that their connexion was torn asunder, but by the great changes which took place there, and by the progress of invading tribes from the north.

The Aetolians are an ancient Greek people, which, however, had amalgamated with itself a great number of Pelasgian and other tribes; hence no other people in Greece departed so widely from the character of the Hellenes, so that in later times they could hardly be considered as genuine Hellenes. But in all

public matters the Hellenic language predominated, and in the south the people also always spoke Greek. They spoke a dialect which was very nearly akin to the Doric, like all these Aeolian dialects, with the exception of the Boeotian, which greatly differed from the Doric. All the Achaean inscriptions we have are in reality Doric. In Aetolia we have to distinguish two nations, the Aetolians proper, and the Curetes, the latter belonging to the early nations which disappear. It is possible that in the passage of the Iliad,[2] the Curetes are mentioned by the side of the Aetolians, in the same manner as the Minyans are placed by the side of the Boeotians, whereas in reality the one people absorbed the other.

The western parts of Greece were occupied by the Acarnanians, who, however, do not occur under this name until later times. In these parts the original Pelasgian inhabitants were subsequently overpowered and repressed by the Hellenes; the ancient traditions about the Trojan war still speak of a Sicel-Epirot or Thessalian population in those countries. The Greeks who dwelt there belong to the same race as the inhabitants of the opposite islands, Cephallenia, Zacynthos, and Ithaca, and with them constituted one nation. The Acarnanians, anxious to win the favour of the Romans, asserted that they had not joined the expedition against the Trojans, the ancestors of the Romans; but the really Hellenic portion of them belonged to the Cephallenians, that is to the followers of Odysseus, who did as much harm to the Trojans as Achilles himself. Although we cannot take the Cephallenian empire and Odysseus as historical, and although the palace of Odysseus which modern travellers fancy they have discovered, is no such thing, yet we cannot doubt, that a Cephallenian nation once existed there, and formed a state, of which the islands were the centre, and to which the coasts of the main land belonged.

The Thessalians are a very singular and anomalous phenomenon in Greece. The question as to whether they were Greeks, was disputed even after the time of Alexander, when no one ventured to doubt the descent of the royal house of Macedonia

[2] Iliad, ix. 525.

from Greeks and Heracles, just as the Ptolemies traced their origin to Dionysus. In the early times no one dreamt of considering the Macedonians as Greeks, they were absolutely regarded as barbarians; and originally, Macedonians and Hellenes are everywhere unquestionably distinguished. But afterwards, when almost every Macedonian spoke Greek, and when all the barriers between Greeks and non-Greeks were broken down, and when Macedonians were admitted as Greeks to the Olympian, Pythian, and other games—matters assumed a different aspect. The admission to the public games was one of the circumstances which contributed most towards the removal of those barriers; and in the time of Philip, the Macedonians were generally admitted. But in regard to the Thessalians, even Dicaearchus, who lived at a still later time, states that it was even then disputed whether they were Hellenes or not. He himself will not decide the question, but does not deny, that in regard to race they were barbarians. The Thessalians were Thesprotians who had immigrated into Thessaly from Epirus, and had subdued the valley of the Peneus. Their country was divided into four parts, but in the earlier times they formed one state under a king. "Afterwards they were divided into separate towns, with an aristocratic government in each; we now indeed still hear of kings of Thessaly, but they had only a supremacy." According to the views of the ancients, Thessaly does not by any means comprise all the country which in our maps bears that name; the chorography of Thessaly is in great confusion, both in maps and in all the current notions. Thessaly proper is only the country from mount Pindus down to the course of the Peneus, with the adjoining hills as far as Pagasae; and accordingly embraces the country between Olympus and the Cambunian hills in the north, and mount Othrys in the south, excluding Pelion and Ossa; it extended to the sea only at the mouth of the Peneus, through the valley of Tempe, and in the neighbourhood of Pagasae, where it forms a coast of about five English miles in length. Within this extent of country the ancient Aeolian inhabitants had become serfs, a condition resembling that of the Helots, or that of the serfs in Russia, which has this peculiarity, that the Russian lord is not allowed to sell his peasants out of the coun-

try. In like manner, a Thessalian noble might sell his Penestae to any one, but not out of the country. They were not inseparable from the glebe. The case in Thessaly, therefore, was different from that described by Varro as existing among a Ligurian people, of whom he says *venalis cum agris suis.*[3] These serfs are constantly confounded with the Perioeci of the Thessalians. While the Thessalians were in this position, no less than three different people were subject to them, standing to them in a definite relation of submission, resembling that existing between the county of Baden and the free townships of Switzerland on the one hand, and the ruling cantons of Zürich and Berne, on the other; and living in circumstances probably somewhat less unfavourable than those of the districts in which German is not spoken. They had their own municipal administration, but no sovereignty; they were obliged to obey the commands of the ruling people, and pay tribute to them; the criminal jurisdiction probably belonged to the ruling body. These three peoples were the Magnetes, the Phthiotian Achaeans, and the Perrhaebians, all of whom consequently were Perioeci of the Thessalians, and not Penestae. The latter are found only in the valley of the Peneus, and consisted of the ancient Aeolian inhabitants of Aemonia. It is proper not to use the name of Thessaly in speaking of the early times, for that name was introduced when the Thesprotian tribe called Thessalians had conquered the country; before that event, it was called Aemonia, a name which occurs in Ovid and other poets. It is only in an improper sense, that the name Aemonia is applied also to Macedonia.

Beside these three subject peoples, others also, of different origin, inhabited those countries; they may at times have been subject to the Thessalians, but certainly not always. We may mention the Aenianians, to whom the Oetaeans also belonged, though the names are not quite synonymous, the Malians and Dolopians. The first two were no doubt Hellenic tribes, but the Dolopians were genuine Pelasgians. The name of the

[3] Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 24) states this of the Triumpilini, but without mentioning Varro as his authority.—Ed.

Dolopians is as much Pelasgian as that of the Thessalians, and the ancient inhabitants of Scyros are called Dolopians as well as Pelasgians.

LECTURE XXVIII.

THE formation of the Delphic Amphictyony, is an event of extraordinary importance; but we have no trace of its origin, and our history does not even negatively give us any account as to the time to which it must be assigned.[1] In the eighteenth century, much that is inappropriate and unfounded has been said about it; ancient history was then sometimes drawn into the domain of the current history of the day, though not in the manner in which, with philological circumspection, ancient history certainly may be so revived as to stand by the side of living history; but men assumed at random and with the utmost credulity, an identity of circumstances where none existed. In this manner much mischief was done during the eighteenth century, and many absurdities were brought forward about ancient history, ever since the accession of Louis XV., from the age of Vertot down to the time when, after the peace of Paris in 1783, the academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres offered prizes for essays on the federative constitutions of antiquity, and the like. It was thus, especially among French authors, who are otherwise men of great ingenuity, that the notion became established, that the amphictyony was a political confederacy; whence they spoke of an *Amphictyonie Belgique*, *Helvétique*, and *de l'empire Allemand*. In modern times, this notion, owing to the development of a more solid tendency in historical philology, has indeed disappeared: and I do not believe that it will ever be revived again; but thus far we have, after all, arrived only at a negative result. In former years, I too occupied myself

[1] See "Bemerkungen über den Amphiktyonenbund," in Niebuhr's *Klein. Schrift.*, vol. ii. p. 158.

with investigations on this subject. The main points are now established; but authors are at present inclined to limit the Amphictyony too much to the mere community of worship at a common sanctuary. "It is certainly true, that the Amphictyonic League was connected with the worship at Pytho; and the protection of the temple was one of its objects, but assuredly not the only one." It is certain, that through the Amphictyony Greece never became a federative state; but it is equally certain, that the Amphictyony represented Greece as a national totality; and that, independently of the protection of temples, it aimed at a general relation for the preservation of the welfare of Greece. The Amphictyonic laws are known from the oration of Aeschines against Ctesiphon and Demosthenes (περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας). Documents like these which have accidentally preserved most important information, are very instructive; if that work had perished, our whole knowledge of the subject would have been completely lost; and we should, therefore, accustom ourselves to admit, that if on any subject we now have no information, such information may, nevertheless, have existed at one time. At the time when Aeschines mentioned those laws, they had long ceased to be in force. From them we learn, that certain rules were laid down, regulating the conduct of the confederates. The Amphictyons were a court of justice for the Greek states; and tribes involved in disputes with each other might appeal to them to have their quarrels decided; but this was not a duty, but only an expedient to which they had a right to have recourse. What was of more importance, is the fact, that the Amphictyonic laws promoted humanity and a conciliatory spirit in the manner of carrying on war: no town was to be destroyed—we may add, that there was no doubt an enactment of the Amphictyons, forbidding to enslave the inhabitants of a Greek town which had been taken by the sword—no country to be laid waste in war, no fruit trees to be cut down, no aqueducts to be destroyed; and wars were to be carried on in a conciliatory spirit. In short war was recognised as an unavoidable and natural means of deciding disputes between states; but it was to be carried on only for the purpose of bringing the dispute to a decision, and not for destruction and

devastation. Whoever violated these laws, was attacked by the arms of all the confederates, and vengeance was taken on him as it was on Cyrrha.

Viewed in this light the Amphictyony appears as a peculiar institution, which does the greatest honour to the age in which it was established; but what that age was, and what were the circumstances under which the states formed this league, are questions that are involved in impenetrable darkness, and on which we have no information whatever. The author must be judged of by his work; and we may say without hesitation, that in this case he must have possessed a great mind and great power. The fact that the confederacy was divided into twelve states or tribes, shows that they did not join accidentally or successively, but that it was a regulation based upon the principle which we find in the other forms of Greek constitutions. Our histories give us no information on this point, any more than the ancients themselves; and this circumstance has given rise to the strange explanation derived from King Amphictyon in Attica. The institution, however, must belong to the period between the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians, and the beginning of our historical knowledge or the age of the Pisistratids; "during that period the affairs of Greece became gradually settled, and the population must have been tired of war;" it was then that the Amphictyony was in full vigour, and perhaps reached its highest point of development. It is remarkable to find that the league also embraced nations which did not settle in Greece until later times, such as the Thessalians, and that they had their seats in the Amphictyonic council by the side of their subject commonalties, which, within this sphere, were placed on a footing of equality with them: it is just possible that they may have become members of the confederacy as the lords of the Aemonian people whose place they occupied. If I am not mistaken, it was Heyne who first maintained the opinion that the Amphictyony was a confederation of the Hellenes against the Pelasgians; but this opinion has no foundation whatever, for among its members Pelasgians are mentioned as well as Hellenes. The twelve nations which formed the league are: Dorians, Ionians, Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians, Thessalians,

Phthiotians, Achaeans, Perrhaebians, Magnetes, Dolopians, Aenianes, and Arcadians. The Perrhaebians as well as the Thesprotians are Epirots or Pelasgians.

The means by which the Amphictyons inforced obedience are likewise obscure. I suspect, that in the earliest times, it was felt as a general want which could not be dispensed with, to make use of the temple and oracle of Delphi; and that exclusion from them was the punishment inflicted by the Amphictyons, so that the punishment was a kind of excommunication, and the προμαντεία, a reward of the faithful. These circumstances are not distinctly apprehended in works upon this subject, and hence the great vagueness and uncertainty. The Amphictyons in the times in which we find them existing, consisted of two elements, a Council and an Ecclesiae. The former consisted of Pylagorae and Hieromnemones; and the meeting was subsequently distinguished, according to the place and the season of the year in which it was held, as that of Delphi and that of Thermopylae. Each state was at liberty to send as many deputies as it pleased, but each had only two votes, making altogether twenty-four. The deputies of the nations constituted the council or senate; and besides this there existed the popular assembly, the Ecclesiae, the nature of which is altogether mistaken by those who in modern times have written upon it, though the matter is as clear as daylight. In our authorities it is stated, that all the individuals present belonging to the states which were members of the league formed an Ecclesia; but this must not be understood as if the votes had been taken according to the numbers of those present, so that, if at a meeting of 2000 there had been 1000 Phocians, these latter would have had half the votes; such was not the case, but each nation voted by itself, just as in other cases each phyle had only one vote; each ἔθνος stood by itself, as in the Achaean confederacy each community, and had only one vote.

Similar unions, of which however few traces are extant, with more or less of a political character, are mentioned in the earliest times, among many other Greek nations. The Ionians and Dorians in Asia Minor had such assemblies, and the Ionian Cyclades had their πανήγυρις at Delos, which was also attended

by other Ionians; "in history there are no traces of this last, but it is mentioned in the beautiful hymn upon Apollo, which more than anything else may be referred to the blind Homer of Chios." In all these leagues we find a fixed number, which proves that the whole existed before any one part, according to the philosophy of Aristotle. They were always connected with sacred rites, sacrifices, etc., which were performed at a certain season of the year; contests (ἀγῶνες), and games of every kind enhanced the solemnity of these festivals. The union of common amusements with the common worship of the gods was very ancient and universal among the Greeks; and these festivals were at all times promoters of humanity, for during their celebration no war was carried on, as in the middle ages the *treuga Dei* was observed on similar occasions. As during the middle ages when violence and war were the order of the day, men naturally felt the need of interrupting that restless condition which continued from day to day, there can be no doubt that for the same purpose the Greeks also instituted these frequent *panegyreis* and *agones*, to interrupt the feuds among the various towns. During the festivals, the people suspended their hostilities, and were obliged to conduct one another safely through their respective territories; and hence those festivals became the means of restoring peace and friendship. In the earliest times, music and poetry were much more prominent at these meetings than afterwards; in those times song and the pleasures of the Muses were the principal part of the solemnity, as we see from the hymns on Apollo. In later times the μουσικὸς ἀγών is rarely mentioned, and it was not till a much later period that it was restored. The history of the Greek *agones* would be a highly interesting subject, which however can be treated of only by a person who is very familiar with ancient history and literature; it is not a subject for a young man, it must be dealt with soberly and not arbitrarily.

According to all this, there must have been a time in Greece, when the people became conscious of its unquestionably lawless condition, and when a natural want produced the institution of the Amphictyony. This much I have to say about the Ἑλλὰς συνεχής.

Besides Greece Proper, the Hellenes are found dispersed far and wide. Many of the settlements in distant countries belong to the historical period; and we can accurately fix the time of their establishment. The colonies on the coasts of the Black Sea can thus be fixed with historical certainty; and it is a most mischievous thing that within the last year some persons have entertained the senseless notion of maintaining that Greece was originally a country on the Black Sea, and that Trebizond on the Euxine was the original city, and Trebizond in Arcadia was only a colony. A certain writer of the name of Köppen in Petersburg who first maintained this opinion is a charlatan, and we feel grieved that Fallmerayer, otherwise an ingenious man, has fallen into the mistake of adopting this opinion. The colonies on the Euxine, then, like those on the Propontis, on the coast of Thrace and Macedonia, and most of those in the west of Europe, such as Massilia, can be historically traced; but the three great settlements, Ionia, Doris and Aeolis, which we find on the coast of Asia Minor, cannot be made out with the same certainty. I will not say anything against the Doric colonies, although they cannot be explained at all; for it appears that we must acknowledge that a Greek settlement really took place there. But as regards Ionia and Aeolis, I have already remarked, that I there assume an earlier Pelasgian population, which became Hellenised; I except, however, the great southern cities of Ionia, for it is probable that their territories were originally inhabited by Carians. The archegetae of these colonies, the Ionian as well as the Aeolian, entirely belong to the mythical ages; remember only Neleus with his fleet which was so miraculously saved, Penthilus and Tisamenus or Phorbas of the race of the Atreids. The Aeolian settlements in those parts may have been connected with the Trojan war. I have no doubt that the existence of the Teucrian empire is historical; and I believe it to be equally historical, that it was destroyed in a great conflict between Asia and Europe; but I think, that the Greeks did not return to those parts in later times, but that they remained there, and that the settlements through which those countries were Hellenised, belong to those very early times. "It is more

particularly in the ancient Troas that every part was filled with Greek settlers."

We shall soon have occasion to return to the Ionian and Aeolian cities, and shall here add only a few observations. In the earlier times they were the real seats of Greek culture and art; and although that nation among which Amphictyonies were formed could not be barbarian, yet humanity and intellectual culture, the domain of the Muses, had their seat in those magnificent coasts of Asia. A military officer once told me, that on arriving in Peloponnesus from Sicily, he found in the former the aspect of nature much more magnificent and rich, and that he could not satisfy his eyes in gazing at the luxurious vegetation; but that when he came to Smyrna in Ionia, he could not help despising Greece Proper on comparing it with the blessings of Ionia, with which no country that he had ever seen could be compared. That blessed climate then, with its indescribably fertile soil, was the seat of the earliest Greek civilisation; and it was there that the Homeric poems were composed. Chios also belonged to it, an island, which previous to the diabolical devastation of 1822 had had the good luck of not being visited by barbarian conquerors, and whose yoke had not been quite intolerable: down to 1822 it was a happy paradise, but now it is covered with the bones of the slain. I shall afterwards speak of the historical importance of those settlements.

The settlements in Euboea are assigned to a very early period; and also those in the Cyclades, in which there existed an Ionian δωδεκάπολις with Delos for its centre, resembling that of the Ionians in Asia with the Panionium. This division of the Cyclades is generally regarded as a geographical division, but this opinion is quite erroneous: it certainly belongs to a time when the Cyclades formed one political whole. This union of twelve parts, however, was dissolved at an early period; afterwards we find feuds between Paros and Naxos, etc., which I cannot here discuss. "Euboea and the Cyclades were colonised by Ionians from Athens; Melos and Thera only were not occupied by them. In the Cyclades, Carian and Phoenician settlers, perhaps also Cretans, retreated before them; and in Euboea they expelled or subdued the Abantes, who were pro-

bably no less Pelasgians than the Histiaeans, who maintained their seats in the north of the island.

In the south, on the other hand, we find a line of Dorian colonies, which touches on the Cyclades, comprises Cydonia, Lyctos, and other places in Crete, and then proceeds to Asia; the chain seems to be interrupted only because the settlements in Crete were not sufficiently recognised as Doric."

Crete is the most mysterious of all the countries that belong to the empire of Greece: in the earlier times it was manifestly not a Greek country, its ancient inhabitants being sometimes considered as Carians and sometimes as Lycians. The greatest part of those early inhabitants, the Eteocretans, gradually disappear; and afterwards we find in the Odyssey three nations in Crete, Eteocretans, Pelasgians, and Dorians. In the historical times we find a twofold relation of subjects; a class of serfs, Clarotae, that is, men living on a κλᾶρος or farm, and evidently corresponding with the Spartan Helots, and Perioeci, or subjects of certain ruling cities. Most places are inhabited by Perioeci. This would not be anything surprising, if we knew whence the inhabitants of those ruling cities had come; but this is altogether unknown. Cnossus and Gortyn, which were afterwards ruling cities, and possessed the largest territories, are real Melchisedeks in history; for no man can say who founded them, and whence they received their populations. Some statements respecting them are of such a nature, that we can attach no value to them, and later traditions are manifestly mere fictions. The Cnossians and Gortynians certainly did not belong to the ancient Cretans, for the latter consisted of only two nations whom Herodotus calls Polichnitae and Praesii, and by them those cities were not inhabited. We are accordingly here in the same difficulty in which we are in regard to Peloponnesus; we see a people which must have immigrated from abroad, but we can neither say whence nor when it came. I cannot say whether the Gortynians and Cnossians belonged to the Pelasgians who are mentioned in the Odyssey. The Cretan inscriptions are highly curious as linguistic monuments; some of them had already been copied by Cyriacus Anconitanus; others, also, are contained in Chishull's collection, and others again exist at

Oxford; and all will probably be published in the next volume of Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum*. There occur in them forms and words which fill us with amazement: we wonder that such things could appear in a Greek dialect. They are even more surprising than the Heracleensian inscriptions. Trichotomy and tetrotomy also occur. "The Cretans were no doubt once a great maritime people; but at the beginning of our history they have already fallen from their height, which is expressed in the story of their expedition to Sicania."

This is the extent to which we find the Greek tribes more or less spread at a time which lies beyond the limits of our history; afterwards they extend even further. Our knowledge of the Greek colonies begins at the time of the Olympiads; the earlier colonies or settlements which are regarded as such, stand there without our being able to say whence and when they originated.

But after the commencement of the Olympiads, about the time of the foundation of Rome, colonies were founded in Sicily and Italy;[2] and of these we can say with certainty, that they are all true Greek colonies, though the circumstances under which they proceeded from the mother country will ever remain uncertain. Thus, to mention an instance which I have already noticed, it seems quite impossible, that such important colonies should have been founded by the small Achaean people with its little towns on the slope of the Arcadian hills towards the Crissaean gulf. They are said to have first made settlements in Zacynthos, a part of the Cephallenian empire, and thence to have proceeded to Italy. We thus see small nations, without any considerable navy, and which nowhere appear as distinguished for maritime adventure, spreading far and wide, and founding large cities in foreign countries.[3] It is no less myste-

[2] "The belief that Cuma in Opica belongs to a very early period, has no other foundation but the γενεαί; according to all historical evidence, it must be assigned to a later date."—1826.

[3] "The immense number of Achaean colonies did not assuredly proceed from the little country of Achaia alone, but must have been founded by the ancient Achaeans in Argolis, Laconia, Elis, etc., who there formed the commonalty, and emigrated in order to escape from the oppression of the Doric conquerors."—1826.

rious to learn the number of settlements made by the comparatively small towns of Chalcis and Eretria in Euboea, and that the little town of Megara, which had no maritime power at all, could send out so many and such important colonies, such as Byzantium, to distant countries, while Aegina, with all its maritime power, did not send out any colonies at all. Circumstances like these may teach and convince us, how obscure and incomplete the earliest history of Greece is to us; for they are all phenomena which we must recognise as undoubted facts, without its being possible for us to explain them: they are facts about which our history knows nothing.

LECTURE XXIX.

THERE were, no doubt, a variety of causes which led to the establishment of colonies. The ancients are unquestionably right in mentioning, among others, over-population and internal dissensions (στάσεις). Another important cause, though it is only mythically alluded to, as in the case of the foundation of Tarentum, is undoubtedly true and correct: I mean the consequences of unequal marriages, or marriages without *connubium*. The ancients were very strict in maintaining the law, that none but children begotten in lawful wedlock, should enjoy the franchise. Pericles, the son of the great Pericles, was not a citizen, because he was a νόθος, for his mother was not an Athenian. Such was the case even during the period of democracy, though it is mentioned as the surest symptom of increasing democracy, that sons of unequal marriages could obtain the full franchise. The restriction existed also in regard to different tribes and ranks; but the citizens or ruling people (*populus*) in the earlier times were particularly kept distinct from the subject people by the fact, that there existed no *connubium* between them. Such also was the case at Rome; and a senseless line of demarcation was thus drawn with the intention of depriving the *plebes* or δῆμος

of the possibility of acquiring the same rights as the ruling class. But the consequence was, the weakness of the *populus* or ruling body; and it became the source of the greatest divisions and disturbances, a portion of the ruling classes attaching themselves to the commonalty. Where such a chasm existed, it was necessary to leap across it. The consequences of this want of ἐπιγαμία or *connubium*, will afterwards appear in the history of Greece in various ways; but they will be particularly obvious and striking in the case of Cypselus, where the extreme folly appears in its full extent. But even in the earlier times they manifest themselves. The traditions respecting the emigration of the Locrians to Italy, and concerning the colony of Phalanthus, in the strange forms in which they have come down to us, are nothing but distortions of the plain fact, that the children of those marriages contracted between the ruling and subject classes, which union could not, after all, be entirely prevented, formed a dangerous class of persons, who claimed the same rights as the rulers. The middle classes felt a still stronger hostility against the rulers than the demos; just as in our days the mulattoes and similar mixed races are the bitterest and most implacable enemies of their rulers and oppressors. To send out such men as colonists was the safest and the only appropriate means of preserving the power of the rulers; as we see in the story of the Minyans, who are said to have emigrated to Thera, under a leader, Theras, and that of the παρθένιοι of Phalanthus. These circumstances assuredly induced the rulers to send out colonies much oftener than it appears in our history. Such a band of young men were allowed to choose between emigration and being treated as enemies; when they preferred the former, they obtained the means of quitting their country; but they were not tolerated in the state, because they were considered as dangerous persons. "These commotions continued down to the times of the Pisistratids: the ruling families decreased, and the commonalty increased, without at first gaining the ascendancy over the former, and those who wished to escape from the oppression of the oligarchs, emigrated. That was the period during which most colonies were sent out."

The Italian system of colonies had no resemblance to that of

the Greeks; and the latter has still less resemblance to the better class of modern colonies, whether we take those which were sent from Norway to Iceland and the Western Islands, or those which surpass all others, I mean the English colonies sent out to America, and at this moment to Australia. In the latter case, a portion of the nation is transferred to a new country, where it has to begin life afresh; whereas the Greek colonies were established in countries that were already inhabited. They had, in this respect, the strongest resemblance to the Spanish colonies in America and the Philippines, or to the Portuguese in India. The colonists consisted of soldiers, and very few native women accompanied them. It is folly to believe that Spain was depopulated by emigration and colonisation. Spain, diseased as it was, would indeed have felt even a small loss caused by emigration; but such a loss did not occur. We have seen, in our own days, that even levies for war do not reduce a population; for during the period from 1789 down to the fall of Napoleon, the population of France, notwithstanding the war, increased instead of being diminished; in the Vendée in the West, alone, a diminution was perceived. Even in the military districts of Austria, in Croatia and other parts, the population after the enormous claims which the emperor had been obliged to make upon them, was only not decreased, but was somewhat more numerous than before the war. We may say, in round numbers, that eight millions of the British race live in America, and yet the population of Ireland has increased fourfold, that of Scotland is doubled, and that of England has similarly increased. It is, therefore, only a prejudice to say, that the population of Spain has been reduced by emigration: the true causes are overlooked, and people cling to their old opinions. The Greek colonies are a proof that the population of a country is not reduced even by frequent emigrations. The Greek colonists went out as soldiers, sword in hand, and conquered new homes for themselves; a small number then formed a settlement, taking the women often by force from their new neighbours or from their prisoners; but sometimes they formed treaties of friendship with the natives and concluded peaceful marriages. We might imagine, that a people thus forming itself, would, by so strong a

mixture with foreign elements, greatly degenerate from the character of the mother country; but such was not the case; they did not by any means differ very materially in their mode of life, manners, character, and language, from the Greeks. It was precisely as in Mexico, whither scarcely any Spanish women emigrated, and where, nevertheless, millions of Creoles speak as pure Spanish as is spoken in any part of the mother country, except that it has the Andalusian accent. In like manner, the descendants of the Greeks spoke the dialect of their mother city.

The new places were then constituted according to the Greek fashion, each conformably to the customs of its own tribe, Doric or Achaean, together with its νόμιμα. They adopted the common law, and regulated their civil institutions on the model of those of the state from which they had come. The new settlers now were the nobles, and formed the ruling class (*populus*), and around them there soon assembled a new δῆμος or *plebes*. This was everywhere the process of Greek colonies, which in some few cases we can distinctly trace, and in others indicate with sufficient probability.

The principal places from which colonies issued are Achaia, Corinth, and Chalcis; in the earlier times Eretria also, and afterwards Miletus. The last city sent out an immense number of colonies, which extended from the Thracian Chersonesus, along the Propontis and over both the coasts of Euxine. These settlements of the Greeks show the direction of commerce, which was quite different in different Greek cities. Thus the commerce of Phocaea had a western direction, whence that city had settlements in Corsica, founded Massilia, and all the Greek towns which lay scattered from Liguria to the Maritime Alps, and farther on from Antipolis as far as Catalonia and Valencia, which, with the exception of Rhoda, are either directly or indirectly of Phocaean origin. The commerce of Corinth was directed towards the coast of Sicily, towards the great city of Syracuse, Corcyra, and the whole coast of Epirus and Acarnania; and in the same direction they founded their colonies. The Chalcidian colonies occupied the coast of Thracian Macedonia, and a great part of the Sicilian and Italian coasts. Chalcis must, in ancient

times, have been an extremely important place: in history it appears only in a state of decay; and in its conflict with Athens to which it became subject after the time of the Pisistratids, when it was manifestly in a declining condition.

These are the principal causes and the principal directions of the Greek colonies, whereby a new Greece sprang up on all the coasts of the Mediterranean. There is not one among the earlier colonies that we can trace with historical certainty; but we need not on this account doubt the statements of Thucydides respecting the foundation of some of them; wherever he distinctly mentions it, he probably follows Antiochus of Syracuse. There are some phenomena on which history either furnishes no information at all, or such only as cannot be believed; it tells us nothing, *e. g.*, on the subject of the Greek settlements in Cyprus. It is difficult to understand how the Greeks could establish themselves in that island which was under the government of the neighbouring and powerful cities of Phoenicia. I believe that the first attempts belong to the times of the last kings of Nineveh, or even farther back to those of Assarhaddon and Psammetichus, when Carians and Ionians, in the general sense of Greeks, went to Egypt, "and when Greeks appeared in Cilicia." But the principal attempts to form settlements in Cyprus may, with probability, be assigned to the time of Nebucadnezar, when the Phoenicians were so hard pressed by him. That there existed at that time an intercourse between the Greeks and Babylonians, has been shown by K. O. Müller, of Göttingen, who in a most excellent treatise has shown, that the brother of the poet Alcaeus fought under Nebucadnezar. It was the interest of that king to weaken the Phoenicians; but after those Greek settlements were once established, they could easily come to terms with the Phoenicians, when the latter had recovered their power; and they no doubt recognised the Phoenician supremacy. I formerly considered it to be a βίος ἀβίοτος for Greeks to live under a foreign government; but the truth is, that they readily submitted to being governed by others, provided the rulers confined themselves to levying a tribute, leaving the internal constitution of the Greeks untouched.

I shall now proceed to give you a sketch of the history of

Greece down to the sixtieth Olympiad. In those earliest times of Greece, centuries passed away which it is impossible for us to describe with any precision. If the ancients actually did possess historical lists of the Spartan kings from the time of Agis, which is not at all impossible, and if the tables of the priestesses of Hera at Argos really contained the general Fasti of Peloponnesus from a very early period, traditions respecting those times certainly may have existed, but they have not been transferred to our authorities. All our statements are traceable to the chronological tables of Eratosthenes, and I must advise you not to place any confidence in them. "A conventional chronology has here been established, which has been repeated by everybody, and has acquired the authority of history, without any one having asked himself, what foundation there is for such statements. They are all based upon the calculations of the reigns of kings, for example, of those of Sparta, according to γενεαὶ: but a γενεά is much too long to be the average period of a king's reign; and although we have some historical points, yet most of the statements are uncertain." We must bear in mind the fact, that we have no trustworthy information, even of so great and important a man as Lycurgus; his ward Charillus, Charilaus, "or, as others call him, Labotas or Leobotes," is likewise very doubtful. The whole history of Lycurgus, which we read in Plutarch, is no more historical than the life of Numa, which Plutarch has drawn up as a parallel to it; but I still have more faith in the historical existence of Lycurgus than in that of Numa, whom I consider to have been some mysterious lawgiver of the whole Sabine nation, rather than a king of Rome: it is, however, possible that there may have been a person of the name of Numa.

According to the historical views of antiquity, Lycurgus was important in two ways, as the founder of the Olympian games, and as the lawgiver of Sparta. In the former character, he united Peloponnesus, which had been distracted and divided by the Doric conquest. The Olympian games united the old and new inhabitants into one body, under the presidency of one of the ancient nations which had not been subdued. Those games, therefore, evidently form a step towards a reconciliation, and

they must have formed a bond of union like the Pythian games, which were closely connected with the Amphictyons. We do not indeed know anything of such an alliance, but a trace of it exists in the name of the Hellanodicae, who assuredly were something more than mere judges at the games: their name alone renders this probable.

The second character in which Lycurgus is of historical importance, is that of legislator of Sparta; and such he seems to have actually been. He is regarded as the author of the εὐνομία, which put an end to a state of great confusion and disorganization, which had existed for a long time. If we compare the former condition, in which Sparta had been the ruling city with feudal princes, with the subsequent one; and if we consider that the old feudal princes are then no longer mentioned, and that the country was divided into four parts, three of which belonged to the Lacedaemonians and one to the Spartans, we must here no doubt recognise the historical fact of a legislation, which may be fairly ascribed to a Lycurgus. A great portion of the peculiarities of the Spartan constitution and their institutions was assuredly of ancient Doric origin, and must have been rather given up by the other Dorians than newly invented and instituted by the Spartans; but with all this, we find so much that is arbitrarily made, that a true and real legislation cannot be doubted. Much as has already been written on the legislation of Sparta, all is as yet very unsatisfactory. Great questions will ever remain unsolved; thus up to this day no one has answered the question, what the demos at Sparta was. I have only my conjectures about it, for I have not carried on the investigations concerning it in the manner in which it must be done, in order to come to a definite conclusion. What, for example, is meant by the statement, that the senate (γερουσία) was chosen ἀριστίνδην, and the ephors ἐκ τοῦ δήμου? In the other Greek states I can mention proofs of the existence of a demos, but not so at Sparta; for the extent which is afterwards assigned to the demos, does not belong to this period. The Neadamodeis can certainly not be conceived as a demos, for it cannot be supposed that the ephors were chosen from among them, and not from the γνήσιοι Σπαρτιᾶται. In like manner it is not clear who were the

ὁμότροφοι. But I do not mean to blame those who have investigated these points, for the question is, whether we have not lost too much, so that they can never be cleared up from want of information; but he who maintains, that he has thrown light upon them, is greatly mistaken. "We will not, then, doubt that Lycurgus was a lawgiver who came forward under the sanction of the Delphic oracle; but the accounts of his life are at least highly doubtful, and the extent of his legislation is as doubtful as his personal history."

To these two characters of Lycurgus, we must add a third and not less important one; for he is said to have been the first to bring the Homeric poems to the continent of Greece. "It does not appear that we are justified in supposing that he made a recension of them, although I think I recognise a Doric recension in the mention of the Doric colonies in Asia and of them alone."[1]

Another ancient tradition of Peloponnesus, which belongs to an earlier time than that to which it is commonly assigned, is that about King Pheidon of Argos, who is an historical and highly remarkable person. His personal history is in itself quite certain, although it is chronologically so uncertain, that it has given rise to doubts even as to his personal existence. It is said that in his time Argos possessed the supremacy over all Peloponnesus, and this is referred to, for example, in the statement which I consider as thoroughly historical, that he established common weights and measures for the whole of the peninsula; and that these Φειδώνεια μέτρα originated with King Pheidon of Argos. He has sometimes been assigned to a later period, about Olymp. 20; but as from other accounts it apppears impossible that at that time there should have still been kings at Argos with such power, and that Argos should at that time have possessed such a predominant influence, Pheidon has been regarded as a tyrant, who usurped the supreme power at Argos, and afterwards subjugated the whole of Peloponnesus. Such views were entertained even by the ancients themselves.

Another historical fact which we cannot assign to any definite

[1] See above, p. 279.

period, is the extension of the Dorians beyond Peloponnesus, and the foundation of Megara. This event has commonly been placed very soon after the Doric immigration into Peloponnesus. But as, according to a very ancient account, even the foundation of Corinth did not take place immediately after the conquest, but is justly considered to be of a more recent date, it certainly is still more probable, that the extension of the Dorians across the Geranian hills towards Megara belongs to still later times, to times which are put in connection with Codrus. The fact is, that the Dorians did not remain satisfied with their conquests in Peloponnesus, but also made themselves masters of Megaris, a portion of Attica, "and constituted it as a separate state, originally, it seems, under the supremacy of Argos." It is also an established fact, that they subdued Salamis, and founded a colony in Aegina, so that Attica was much reduced in extent, and greatly kept in check by its neighbours.

We know absolutely nothing of the history of Attica under the government of the archons for life, and those who held their office for ten years, until we approach the time of Solon. We possess two lists, but do not know a single fact, if we except the mention of the ἄγος Κυλώνειον and the legislation of Draco, the former of which belongs to the time about the beginning of the Olympiads. Athens was then a state which was decaying in every respect; oppressed from without and agitated within, and nothing great or pleasing flourished there. The most prosperous and the wealthiest among the Greek states of the continent at that time was Corinth, which at an early period became a commercial state, with great maritime power. After having for a considerable time been dependent on Argos and ruled by a feudal prince, it emancipated itself from the supremacy of Argos; the βασιλεία became a δυναστεία. The nobles to which the princes belonged, usurped the whole government.

This transition is a general phenomenon in all parts of Greece[2] (before and about Olymp. 1). The kingly government

[2] "The Greek kings were of a different kind from the Italian, Roman, and Etruscan ones. They were hereditary in a γένος, which traced its origin to some hero. Respecting their power, some facts may be gathered from the Homeric poems, for what they state on this point is certainly his-

disappears everywhere, and its place is supplied by the nobles, so that the highest power passes into the hands of one family among them, while the others form the aristocracy, possessing on the whole, all the rights of sovereignty. Such an aristocracy becomes contracted within itself, and either a combined number of families, or one family alone, assumes the reigns of government. A league of several families of the ruling class is thus placed at the head of affairs, as in certain cantons of Switzerland; in that of Freiburg, *e. g.*, there arose in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, an oligarchy of the native noble families, which was successful to a degree that is as marvellous as the manner in which the oligarchy itself was formed. The cause of such changes is the fact that the body of the ruling families press so heavily upon the demos, that the latter, exasperated at them, recognises one portion of the rulers, rejoicing at the defeat of the other. This joy at the defeat of others is an important element in history, which explains many things; it is the necessary course of time; and such also was the case in Greece, where after one oligarchy there always sprang up another worse than its predecessor.

"At the beginning of the Olympiads we find in Messene a king without vassal princes; at Sparta there are two kings, the feudal principalities are destroyed, and the Lacedaemonians are

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torical. But in them, and even in the Odyssey, a connecting link between the kings and the people is entirely wanting, and the γερουσία has no definite form; but that there was a γερουσία, cannot be doubted. In the poems the people stand by the side of the kings, without an intermediate class. The kings, descended from the gods, rule as instituted by the gods: they are the judges, and in war absolute commanders; whether they determine upon war according to their own discretion, is not clearly to be seen from Homer; historically, we know that they could not do so without the senate and the people. In addition to this, they were also priests. They had a large domain, cultivated for the most part by serfs, in whom consisted the physical strength, without which no political power could exist. In Peloponnesus, the kings may have been in similar circumstances as the kings of Navarre and Aragon; with their men they had conquered an empire, and the men maintained their right as sharers in the conquest against the kings. Thus the kings in Peloponnesus were probably at first very limited in power, although much depended upon the amount of personal talent possessed by them."—1826.

absolutely subjects of the Spartans. At Argos there is a king, but some of its principalities are independent, such as those of Corinth, Sicyon, and Epidaurus." I have now to relate the first historical occurrence in Peloponnesus, the first Messenian war, by which the Spartans acquired for themselves two of the Doric shares.

LECTURE XXX.

Down to the time of Croesus, then, a thick darkness envelops the affairs of Greece proper; we can discern only some isolated points, such as the supremacy of Pheidon in Peloponnesus, but it is utterly impossible to fix them chronologically. An event of a similar nature is the subjugation of Messene by the Spartans; the fact itself is as certain as all the reported details about it are undeserving of credit. We shall put the two Messenian wars together, that we may be able to regard them from the point of view from which they must be looked at. During the last fifty years, these wars have occupied a place in serious histories of Greece, as if they were historically authenticated. But those who have thus treated them as historical, have paid little or no attention to what Pausanias himself honestly says about them. There can be no doubt that Ephorus in his history also spoke of the subjugation of Messene; but what he said about it, has unfortunately been left entirely unnoticed by Pausanias, who in fact does not avail himself at all of the work of Ephorus; he had perhaps not even read it, a neglect which may have arisen from his desire to give, without any criticism, all kinds of detailed information, which did not agree with the true and simple historical accounts of Ephorus. We should know scarcely any of the circumstances connected with the Messenian war, had not Pausanias introduced into his work an episode containing a minute account, which strangely enough has been looked upon by moderns as

more authentic than by Pausanias himself. He had two accounts before him, one in prose by an Ionian, Myron of Priene, and an epic one by the Cretan Rhianus. The latter lived about Olymp. 100; of his work we have only fragments, which, however, show all the characteristics of beautiful ancient epic poetry. If we except Panyasis, he is perhaps the most recent of the ancient epic poets; for I do not here count such imitators as Apollonius of Rhodes, who wrote a hundred years later, for he is altogether artificial, both in his forms and in his manner. Panyasis and Rhianus still belong to that class of poets who sang for themselves and for the Muses. I would even exclude Antimachus from the list, though he was a contemporary of Plato, and I cannot conceive that Plato should have relished such an artificial poet as Antimachus. I believe that Myron of Priene was a very late author, even if it were for no other reason, than that the oracle quoted from him by Pausanias, is composed in trimeters; for such an idea can have occurred only to a late writer; so long as the Pythia gave her oracles in hexameter verse, no one could have thought of trimeters. I should not wonder if the restoration of Messene induced Myron to write his history. He related the first, and Rhianus the second Messenian war, though it would appear not quite complete. Rhianus embraced a large period, and did not concentrate his poem on one particular epoch like the Iliad, but he took a wide range for his subject according to the fashion of the cyclic poets. Now if Rhianus is older than Myron, his authority also is greater; but how little a poet like Rhianus can, after all, be regarded as an historical authority, is clear from the fact, that he calls the Spartan king who carried on the second war, Leotychides, whereas, according to chronological statements, which Pausanias found somewhere (no one knows where), Leotychides lived 150 years later than that war.[1] But the fact that the traditions in Rhianus as well as Myron are

[1] Comp. Paus. iv. 15, § 3. Leotychides is the ninth king from Theopompus. Three reigns after Theopompus the second Messenian war breaks out, so that Leotychides falls six reigns after it; and six reigns, according to Niebuhr's general supposition, would make about 150 years. —Ed.

connected with an Italian statement, that fugitives from Messene were kindly received by Anaxilas of Rhegium agrees with Rhianus' mention of Leotychides; "for Anaxilas lived about Olymp. 60," so that the event alluded to nearly coincides with the time of Leotychides. "The name of Zancle for the town afterwards called Messana, was in use, according to Herodotus, until the age of Darius Hystaspis; Gorgus and Manticlus, as leaders of the fugitives to Messana, therefore must be referred to that age." This is irreconcilable with the chronological statements of Pausanias, "a circumstance which he dishonestly overlooks; and the story is nevertheless everywhere repeated after him." It is, on the other hand, an established fact, that Tyrtaeus belongs to the period of the second Messenian war, and the whole character of Tyrtaeus is, according to all appearance, older than the 60th Olympiad. If it were urged against this, that Theognis does not appear to be much more recent, and that a remarkable sameness continued among the Greeks for centuries, an undoubted fragment of Tyrtaeus removes all doubts, for in it he says that Ithome was taken in the time of the fathers of their fathers (that is, two γενεαί before). This agrees with the statement that Theopompus completed the conquest, for from his time to the second Messenian war, there are two γενεαί.[2] Everything, therefore, is vague and uncertain. Myron placed Aristomenes in the first Messenian war, "and Rhianus in the second; with the former he is an ordinary warrior, with the latter he is to the second Messenian war what Achilles is to the Trojan war." Of all the details respecting the two wars, only one fact seems to me to be historical, namely the treachery of Aristocrates, king of Arcadia, against the Messenians, for which baseness he was afterwards stoned to death by his own people. On this fact there existed an epigram which has been preserved by Polybius, and which, if it was composed at the time, would be the most ancient of its kind. Such a high antiquity would create mistrust, and either cast suspicion on the epigram, or lead us to assign the event to a more recent time; but the epigram may have been engraved

[2] Comp. Paus. iv. 15, §§ 2 and 3.

many years after the event itself, and all circumstances oblige us to adopt this supposition.

Pausanias' account of these two wars would be highly attractive, if he were a writer of a little more tact and judgment, and if he had framed his narrative in such a manner as not to give it as historical, but had contented himself with relating it as a tradition. But as it is, he endeavours to give to the whole an historical colouring, and gravely relating it with moral and political reflections, he makes an unpleasant impression. In order to derive real pleasure from it, his account must be cleared from all such excrescences, and it can without difficulty be so restored as to become extremely poetical.

I cannot relate to you things, which in my opinion are no more than a romance, such as the history of Myron. Some points about Aristomenes from Rhianus I will mention; they are sublime, but the history of Myron is devoid of this charm. We cannot believe that he invented the whole; his account is probably based upon Messenian traditions, but no man can say how far they are trustworthy. We may take it as an historical fact, on the authority of Tyrtaeus, that the first Messenian war lasted twenty years (from Olymp. 9 to 13), that in the twentieth year the Messenians assembled all their forces on mount Ithome, that then they were routed, and Messene submitted to the yoke of Sparta. "Tyrtaeus also mentions that the war was concluded by King Theopompus." In the romance of Myron, King Theopompus is slain. What was the fate of the several leaders, Euphaes, Androcles, and Antiochus, and how Ithome was defended? all these are points which it is impossible to relate; "they are as little historical as the accounts of Romulus and Numa." I will only remark, that the mention of the two Messenian kings does not seem to belong to Myron, who in fact speaks only of Euphaes; one of the two kings disappears, and afterwards one only is mentioned. But the statement that Messene also had two kings, is very interesting, as it shews that two of its phylae had each a king, as was the case at Sparta, and as at Rome the Tities as well as the Ramnes had each their king, while the Luceres, though citizens, were in a condition of dependence.

When the Messenians were conquered, which took place about Olymp. 12 or 13, they were reduced to a state of servitude, though it was not complete helotism. The country of Messene does not seem to have become *ager assignatus* or to have been parcelled out in farms as in Laconia, but a tribute seems to have been paid by the whole body of the Messenians to the whole body of the Spartan citizens; the Messenians being obliged to give up half the produce of their fields, and to perform task-work. On the demise of a Spartan king, they were obliged to put on mourning, as a sign of their being in the position of subjects, "and to go to Sparta in mourning attire." The yoke was heavy. An exiled race of Argives, who are called Dryopes, were planted by the Spartans in Asine, in the Messenian territory; they were, perhaps, no other than the citizens of an ancient Pelasgian town of the Danai, who had until then maintained themselves in Argolis, and now being expelled from their homes were received by the Spartans.

The second Messenian war, the time of which is so completely uncertain in the detailed accounts of it, is placed by Pausanias, I think, about Olymp. 23. In this second war, Aristomenes appears as the national hero of the Messenians; his exploits, in the narrative of Rhianus, must have had a high poetical charm, for even in its disfigured form in Pausanias, where it is divested of poetry, with the attempt to introduce into it something conceivable and probable, it is still attractive and delightful. "Aristomenes is not an invention of Rhianus; he is a mythical personage, who certainly once did exist, but is so completely disguised by popular tradition, that nothing, or only very little, of his history is authentic. Marco Kraljewitch, in the songs of the Servians, is quite a similar character." We can neither suppose it to be true, that Aristomenes twice sacrificed ἑκατομφονίας, nor that he hung up, in Sparta itself, in the temple of Athena Chalcioecos, a shield taken from the Spartans, with a dedicatory inscription; nor that he was captured by the Spartans and thrown into a large cavern, κεάδας, from which he saved his life only by a miraculous accident. All this is neither probable nor possible; it was necessary to make the story poetical in order to make it

pleasing. Mount Taygetus is torn by earthquakes and volcanic influences, large caves and chasms are numerous, and such was the Ceadas near Sparta. Into it the condemned criminals were thrown, as at Rome they were hurled from the Tarpeian rock; and into such a cave Aristomenes also was thrown. Its depth was so great that no one could get down alive, and hence the poet devised the fiction that some divinity, in the form of an eagle with outspread wings, took him and gently carried him down; among the corpses he observed something living, a fox or a jackal, which he took hold of, and the animal led him forward, until he saw the light of day, and thus Aristomenes was saved. This story, independently of its being very beautiful in itself, deserves to be noticed also on account of the fact, that it is one of the few examples of a Greek and truly poetical tale being transferred to the East. For the story of the deliverance from a cave also occurs in the Arabian tales about the travels of Sinbad; and is as obviously taken from this Greek tradition, as the story of the giant with one eye is derived from the Greek tradition of the Cyclops. These travels of Sinbad are an original and peculiar Arabic and Persian tale, with which the two Greek ones have been combined; it is an independent and voluminous work, some portion of which was incorporated with the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. Here, then, we have two instances, which are otherwise extremely rare, of a connection of Greek poetry with the East. Pausanias relates the history of the two wars in the same way in which Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates those of Romulus. The latter gives an accurate description of all the dispositions and evolutions, and Pausanias, too, is not much behindhand in this. This is certainly not the fault of Rhianus; he unquestionably represented Aristomenes and his other heroes as fighting man to man, as in the Iliad. It may be historically true, that in this war the Messenians were soon reduced to acting on the defensive, and were forced to retreat to mount Eira, and that there they continued to defend themselves for a long time; but whether the siege lasted eleven years, as Rhianus stated, or whether this, too, belongs to poetry, does not affect the main question. As to the manner in which the war ended, we are likewise unable to say anything: whether Aristomenes fell, whether the Spartans

opened a road to the despairing Messenians, and permitted them to depart, all this is beyond the domain of real history. But the great historical fact is, that the Spartans completely conquered Messene, and thus became possessed of two of the Doric portions of Peloponnesus. After the subjugation, the Spartans reduced the greater part of the country to a wilderness. In the Peloponnesian war the territory about Pylos (Navarino) was a complete desert; the valley of the Pamisos about Calamata is a beautiful district, and this they probably spared. The Messenians now appear to have fallen into the condition of helots; for we find them in it in the time of Archidamus, or the period of what is called the third Messenian war after the earthquake. The complete devastation of the country may have been the consequence of this last insurrection. It is impossible to discover anything definite regarding the relation in which the Messenian country stood to Sparta. Some towns seem to have been in the condition of Perioeci, and to have continued in the enjoyment of municipal institutions. "But the remainder of the country was distributed among the Spartans; and the number of the lost, the determination of which is ascribed to Lycurgus, must probably be referred to that time. It is also historically true, that a great body of the Messenians emigrated to Arcadia, where they were recived in the towns, while a small portion founded Messana in Sicily."

The Spartans now also deprived the Argives of the western coast of the Argolic gulf, from Malea to the frontiers of Argos. The whole of that district may have borne the name of Cynuria to a much greater extent than appears in history, where it comprises only the territory of Thyrea; the wide diffusion of the Cynurians renders it difficult to believe, that their country should not have been more extensive; "Orneae, too, and the whole country as far as Sicyon must have belonged to it." But the last struggle between the Argives and Spartans, shortly before the time of Croesus, was only about the territory of Thyrea. Here we again find, in the account of Othryades, the mere tradition without historical credibility. Three hundred Spartans fight against three hundred Argives, for no other reason than that both nations, being Dorians, are divided into three

phylae, and are subdivided, according to the decimal system, into *curiae* and *gentes*. Othryades, who remains on the field of battle and erects trophies, is as little historical as Horatius, the conqueror of Alba. I will not on that account deny his personal existence, but the account of him lies beyond the domain of history. Sparta thus extended her frontiers to the very neighbourhood of Argos, and the Argive state fell entirely to pieces. Corinth had long been independent and powerful, and Troezen, Epidaurus, Hermione, Sicyon, Phlius, and Cleonae had emancipated themselves. Nay, matters had come to such a point, that even Mycenae and Tiryns no longer recognized the supremacy of Argos. This may have happened about Olymp. 70, in consequence of the victory of Cleomenes.

When the Spartans were masters of Messene, and had confined Argos to such narrow limits, they turned their arms against the Arcadians, and conquered a considerable territory, the country about Pellana and Belemina; this comprises the same districts which Philip of Macedonia afterwards restored to the Arcadians, when he was invited to act as umpire by the Peloponnesians, who, preferring to have foreign tyrants to recognising a great native city, called on him to arbitrate between them. That country now formed a Λακωνικὴ ἐπίκτητος. But the Spartans, not yet satisfied, tried to subdue all Arcadia as they had subdued Messene; not as the Romans did, for the sake of conquest, to extend and enlarge their nation, but to reduce a free people to a state of servitude, and rob it of its landed property. The Arcadians, however, opposed them with courage and determination, "and although they did not form a confederacy, they made common cause in this war," and the Spartans never succeeded in conquering them, although, in the time of Croesus, they were successful against Tegea, then the greatest city in Arcadia, and defeated the Tegeatans in several battles. It is possible, that the territory of Belemina and Pellana belonged to the state of Tegea.

While Sparta was thus extending her power, and while the supremacy among the Doric nations which had at first belonged to Argos, was thus gradually passing over to Sparta, she acquired the supremacy of the greater part of Peloponnesus. Her

authority was gradually established over the whole peninsula, and was generally acknowledged, especially by the Doric towns in Argolis, which had made themselves independent of Argos, with the exception of Argos itself, which obstinately and sullenly refused, and of Arcadia, which manfully resisted every encroachment. "In this manner we find Sparta, about Olymp. 55, recognised as the first Greek city, and barbarians, such as Croesus and Amasis, endeavour to form alliances with her."

At that period Corinth was by far the wealthiest, most flourishing, and most intellectual city in Peloponnesus. It had at an early time an extensive commerce, founded Syracuse, deprived the Eretrians, who had formerly been masters in the west, of Corcyra, and thence, in conjunction with the Corcyreans, founded Apollonia, Epidamnus, Ambracia, Chalcis, Alyzia, and other places on the coast of Acarnania. The Corinthians were absolute masters in those parts: by their possession of Corcyra, they closed the Adriatic against the piracy of the Liburnians and other barbarians, and secured the safety of the passage to Italy and Sicily. The possession of Syracuse was particularly valuable to them, on account of the corn so abundantly produced in Sicily; they provided Hellas with grain, which in consequence of its dense population in many parts, could not produce a sufficient supply; they themselves also needed it, as their territory could not supply a city like Corinth; their colonies therefore helped them in this respect. It was the first Greek city in which all trades and industry, τέχναι and βαναυσίαι, were honoured; not that in those early times trade was honoured in the manner in which it was at Florence, Augsburg, etc., during the time of the guilds, from the 14th century onwards; but rather in the manner in which they were honoured at Nürnberg, where the ruling houses indeed treated them with favour and respect, but still would not hear of tradesmen presuming to have a share in the government. For the Corinthian constitution was strictly aristocratic, a very narrow oligarchy, the government being in the hands of the Bacchiadae alone, "who did not form one family, but a whole γένος, which traced its origin to a Heracleid Bacchis." But as the city was rich, and had a large body of wealthy citizens, the oligarchy found its position precarious and dangerous,

and therefore jealously watched to maintain itself, and to keep down the demos, "which consisted of artizans, merchants, tradesmen, and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. These circumstances led to the revolution of Cypselus, who having placed himself at the head of the commonalty, expelled the Bacchiadae." (Ol. 30.)

From this period, until the time of Pisistratus, which is a time of transition to an entirely new state of things, we must comprise the history of Greece in broad outlines. We know very little about that period. In ancient Hellas itself, where circumstances were different from those in the colonies, Ἑλλὰς σποραδική, this is the period of dictatorships, which are known under the name of τυραννίδες.[3]

From about Olymp. 20, there appears throughout Greece, in some parts sooner and in others later, a general movement, in consequence of the fact that the demos, which was differently constituted, consisting sometimes of the country population and sometimes of the body of the town population, raised themselves into wealth and power. The mode of carrying on wars also was changed; for while formerly they had been carried on by light-armed troops, ψιλοί, there now appeared the hoplites, and the phalanx was formed. The hoplites consisted of the commonalty, and as they were now in the possession of arms, a substantial power had sprung up, which it was impossible to get rid of. Most foolish attempts were made to keep that power down in every possible way; and instead of attaching it to themselves, the oligarchs who were becoming weaker and weaker, endeavoured to oppress the demos, though in times of war they could not dispense with it; for they were obliged to have the phalanx, just as the oligarchical cantons in Switzerland were obliged to arm the country people. Thus entirely new relations grow out of the actual state of things. The hoplites and the armed demos now preferred their claims, the oligarchy became more and more reduced in strength and in numbers, without attempting to recruit itself; for, according to the common view,

[3] This paragraph has been transposed to this place from the beginning of Lecture XXXI.

the oligarchs were quite satisfied, if for the moment they counted only twenty families possessed of power, while formerly their number had amounted to two hundred, for the fewer they were, the greater was the number of offices which they might obtain. Under such circumstances, the oligarchy tried to keep down the commonalty by force, and even went so far, as happened also at Geneva, as to engage mercenaries against it. As the ancient, simple, and unconscious good understanding had ceased to exist between the two orders, "we hear of those στάσεις, which are so remarkable in the early history, and which led to so many emigrations in cases where the commonalty had not yet acquired sufficient strength; but where it was a match for the ruling body," new relations sprang up. From the body of the oligarchs an ambitious individual would come forward as the representative of the commonalty, and find followers among them against his own order: such men are the tyrants of the early times. The forms remained essentially the same everywhere, except that the demos was allowed more power. All our accounts of tyrants show that they originated in this manner; it is the demos that chooses for itself such a protector from among the powerful or ruling families, and supports him. This is a characteristic phenomenon in Greek history, which shows itself during the period from Olymp. 20, to Olymp. 60, appearing in some places earlier than in others. These tyrants of the early times are in reality nothing but dictators or usurpers; they have only this disadvantage of all usurpers, that they are not surrounded by the halo of legitimacy, so that a conflict of ambition may arise, in which every one can come forward with the same justice and demand sovereign power. They are quite different from the tyrants of later times, the two Dionysius and Agathocles in Sicily, Apollodorus of Cassandrea, and those in Peloponnesus during the Macedonian period, under Antigonus Gonatas, and at the time of the Achaean league. All these latter are usurpers, who came forward at a time when the state and the form of the constitution had become effete, and where the interference of a dictator was unavoidable, because it had become impossible for a free constitution to exist any longer. "They did not come into power through revolutions,

which had their basis and their necessity in the progress of development, but took possession of the towns with the aid of bands of mercenaries." Among these tyrants of later times there are some who do not deserve any blame, but most of them were bad men, and even the best created nothing good, or could create nothing; they were only the lesser evil in bad times; for they put an end to the distracted condition of a state, and during the time of their rule they preserved to some extent peace and tranquillity. The last Hiero of Syracuse was a man of this kind, for considering the circumstances of that city, heaven in its mercy could not have bestowed upon it a greater blessing. The tyrants of the ancient times, on the other hand, were a necessary part of the political development, and a beneficial phenomenon, which must not be judged by its name, and in which we are forced to recognise a kind Providence. "They were the natural result of a revolutionary condition, in which the foundations that liberty might have been based on, had been destroyed; and they formed the necessary transition to future freedom, since the development of the Greek states did not arrive at that degree of maturity which we see in the history of Rome."

LECTURE XXXI.

THE most ancient of these τυραννίδες, and the one which lasted longest, for it continued for nearly a century, is the dynasty, for so it may be called, of Orthagoras at Sicyon. He was a man of the people, an artizan, or the son of an artizan, so that here the course of things is different from what happened in other places; we have here no interference of an ambitious man of the ruling class, but an insurrection of the commonalty against the rulers. His dynasty completely established itself, and, as I have said, lasted longer than any other. However low the origin of its founder was, his successors were completely invested with

the character of legitimacy, and the most illustrious men of Greece sued for the hand of the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon. These princes of Sicyon, among whom Cleisthenes acquired great celebrity, did not assuredly rule over the small territory of Sicyon alone, and this may be asserted more particularly of Cleisthenes. He was at enmity with Argos, and must therefore have been in contact with it as a neighbour; he probably ruled over Phlius, and perhaps even farther, for he appears as a very powerful prince. The long duration of the reigns of these princes shows, how suitable it was to the circumstances of the state; and that the people under such a dictator felt much more comfortable than before.

The second great dynasty which lasted for a considerable time, is that of the Cypselids; it reigned upwards of fifty years, but it did not go further than the third generation. Cypselus (about Olymp. 30) is an example of the causes of the tyrannis. He was the son of a man in the country, a δημότης, who had married the daughter of a Bacchiad, because, it is said, none of her kinsmen would have her, because she was lame. The oligarchs are said to have entertained apprehensions of the offspring of this marriage, as Eetion, the father of Cypselus, as the oracle says, was already a distinguished man, and highly respected by his order; and emissaries are said to have come intending to strangle the infant in its cradle. But it was saved, though with difficulty, and grew up in hatred of the oligarchs. When Cypselus had attained the age of manhood, he came forward with his claims, which certainly were greater than those of a man of the demos: he created a revolution, overthrew the Bacchiads, and was recognised by the commonalty of Corinth as its ruler. The circumstances under which he and other men of his class, Pisistratus, Theagenes, Lygdamis and others ruled, were the same as those under which the first Medici, Cosmo and Lorenzo il Magnifico, ruled at Florence. No man at Florence had any particular title, though he ruled as a prince: all the magistrates and officers continued to exist just as before, being apparently chosen by lot, in the most democratic fashion, and yet even Cosmo, and especially Lorenzo, of Medici, were the life and soul, as well as the real lords of the republic; they transacted

business with foreign powers, and wherever they spoke, all around were silent; their intelligence and their will decided everything. In the history of Florence, they alone are seen acting; but if we look into the Fasti of the republic, we find all the magistrates as before, the Gonfalonieri, the Signoria, the Repubblica, etc. Such was precisely the case in the Greek states. The tyrants—I use the name here very reluctantly—alone governed the whole state, although all the ancient forms remained, as far as the real government was concerned; but where it was not concerned, things remained as before, and the magistrates performed their functions; nay, sometimes the ecclesia was convened, in which the body of citizens passed decrees. The tyrants usually had at most a body-guard, δορυφόροι, which, however, they seem to have been scarcely in need of. Cypselus was severe only towards the Bacchiads; towards the people he was anything but harsh; the government of Periander, during the latter period, is said to have been severe towards the people also, but otherwise it was popular like that of Cypselus.

In chronological order, there now follows Theagenes of Megara. The Orthagoridae are the most ancient; then come the Cypselids whose age is differently stated. The chronological statements about the periods are sometimes contradictory to historical facts. The earliest period that can be assigned to Cypselus is the thirtieth Olympiad. Theagenes (about Olymp. 40) likewise came forward from the ruling families at a time when they had carried the abuse of their power to the highest pitch. They had attacked theoriae on their pilgrimage to Delphi, and thrown down their vehicles from the Scironian rocks. Theagenes ruled entirely by the will of the commonalty. We must conceive that there existed at Megara a small Doric colony in the midst of a numerous demos of the ancient inhabitants; the latter had recovered from the oppression of the Dorians, and gained sufficient strength to throw off the yoke. The Doric rulers, by their foolish seclusion, had weakened themselves; and the gaps which time had made in their ranks had not been filled up, while the demos was ever on the increase.

The government of Lygdamis, which belongs to a still later

period, about the beginning of the tyrannis of Pisistratus (Olymp. 60), was of a similar nature. Lygdamis, as ruler of Naxos, was master also of the surrounding Cyclades. This is the first trace of the history of those islands, and we see on that occasion, that Naxos was a very populous state. Naxos is one of those countries which are most richly blessed by heaven: it is a volcanic mountain rising out of the sea with a broad base, excellent and fertile to the very top, like the island of Bourbon. The Venetians introduced an oligarchy in Naxos, and the Italian families still continue to make pretensions, and fancy themselves infinitely superior to the native country people; although they have become entirely hellenised, yet they keep aloof from the natives, live in castles, and treat the country people most insolently; but before the Turks they crouch, and are, therefore, protected in their tyranny by the power of the Kapudan Pasha, wherefore they in return support the interest of the Turks. Such also was the miserable oligarchy, to which in ancient times, Lygdamis put an end in Naxos. His government was likewise very popular.

An occurrence, which in appearance was of a different kind, but in reality identical, was the elevation of Pittacus to the sovereignty of Mitylene (Olymp. 47). There, too, an oligarchy possessed political power; the clan of the Penthalidae, or, as they are sometimes called, Penthelidae, or Penthilidae, containing a small number of oligarchic families, ruled over the great city of Mitylene, and abused their power to such an extent, that from mere insolence they ill used the people, beating them with sticks. The demos at length took courage, and having confidence in his wisdom and moderation, raised Pittacus, who also belonged to one of the noble families, to the rank of *αἰσυμνήτης*. This occurred about Olymp. 50: the reign of Cypselus commenced about the time when the Median empire was established, when Nineveh having lost its power was already hastening towards its downfall, and when the Scythians broke in upon Media; Pittacus belongs to the time of Nebucadnezar. The event was followed by great and violent struggles: many of the aristocrats took to flight, and among them was Alcaeus, the greatest poet that Greece pro-

duced after Homer. He and Antimenides had placed themselves at the head of the aristocracy against Pittacus; but notwithstanding their most exasperated struggles, they were unable to recover their former position; and Pittacus maintained his power, promoting at the same time the greatest prosperity of Mitylene. When the object of his dictatorship was accomplished, and peace and tranquillity were restored, he laid down his power. We have here an example, teaching us that we should not allow ourselves to be misguided in history by the fact, that very eminent persons side with one of the opposing political factions; such characters must not sway us in our judgment of the respective merits of the parties. Who is there, that having any taste for poetry and beautiful rhythm, can read the small fragments of Alcaeus without feeling his heart beat, and without acknowledging, that next to Homer he is the greatest poet? And yet this Alcaeus fought in support of the tyranny of his faction, and denounced in his poems the wise man who was the benefactor of his country; nay, he went so far as to call him *χαχόπατρις*, an expression implying contempt for his own order.[1] It certainly was at that time not a matter of rare occurrence for a republic to appoint such an *aesymnetes* or judge, on whom that dignity was conferred for a definite time. The name *αἰσυμνήτης* was derived from *αἴσιμα*.[2]

[1] "The word *χαχόπατρις* in the beautiful fragment preserved by Aristotle (*Polit.* p. 87, ed. Sylburg) has been misunderstood; it is evidently used as the opposite of *εὐπατρίδης*, and in the sense of *δημοτικός*. The terminations *ις* and *ίδης* are no doubt synonymous, like the Latin *us* and *inus* in *libertus* and *libertinus*."

[2] "As Lavinia and Turnus are only designations of the Lavini and Turini, so we also find in the list of the Spartan kings one of the name of Eunomus. According to one tradition, Lycurgus was the son of Eunomus, who was a son of Doryssus (military power), and the ancestor of Charilaus. It is surely quite clear that these names are not historical. But, in like manner, we find among the Athenian archons one Medon (the ruler) and one Aisimedes (one who administers justice). There are many more such names. They must be understood in as symbolical a sense, when history is conceived poetically, as the names of nymphs, etc., in mythology. When in the theogony we read the names of the Nereids, such as Glauce, Speio (the marine cave), and their whole series of names, we at once see that all of them refer to things connected with the sea; and who

If we view these tyrants of the early times in this light, which constitutes their real character, it cannot surprise you that men like Pittacus and Periander were numbered among the seven sages. In the ordinary works on the early history of Greece, you will find very edifying lamentations, that such worthy men allowed themselves to be so far misled as to become tyrants in their own country; but these tyrannies were necessary transitions, and those men were highly beneficial to their countries. If they had governed the people according to their own discretion, as in the East, the case would indeed be different; but they were only guardians of the people, who watched over them, until the ancient causes of dispute were removed. During their administration the rights of the demos acquired stability and durability; the families of the oligarchs learned to accustom themselves to regard the demos as a body of free citizens existing beside them; and habits of self-government and of consulting for the common good were formed. "The nobles and the demos entered into friendly relations and united with one another, and the ἐπιγαμία is no longer heard of." It was a time of tutelage for the people, which was necessary for the development of the states: we place thorn bushes around young trees to protect them against ill-usage while they are acquiring strength, and afterwards take away the thorns when the trees have become sufficiently strong—such also was the case with the tyrants of those times; and even Pisistratus and the Pisistratids, against whom so much has been said, were the benefactors of their country. We must not, however, attribute to them any moral

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would here look for any other meaning? The invention of those names, however, cannot be assigned to a late period, such as that of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, but they are much more ancient. When a noble Athenian, for example, of the family of the Neleids, recounted his ancestors, as the Arabs did in Spain, and as is done in the Old Testament, he counted them backwards up to the ancient times with their freely invented names of this description, which, however, in the early times had as little the appearance of history as the names of the marine divinities, Muses, Graces, and the like. Such considerations are not arbitrary; they furnish the key to a free understanding of ancient history; and this does not diminish their value, but even in history it is delightful, and enables us to perceive its transition into poetry."

or self-sacrificing motive, from which they placed themselves at the head of affairs; for in return for the good they did, they themselves also enjoyed great advantages. There were but very few who, like Pittacus, sacrificed themselves in taking the burden upon them; but all were beneficial instruments in the hands of Providence, bringing about those transitions which, under other circumstances, would have taken place only amid the greatest convulsions. "Had it not been for them, the miserable oligarchies would have become the victims of the demos, which had outgrown their control." Wherever the rulers prevented such a catastrophe, there arose an unnatural state of things, like that at Sparta and also in some entirely oligarchical cantons of Switzerland, and at Nürnberg. Corinth would never have become a great city without the Cypselids. The period of the act of mediation in Switzerland may be compared with that of the Greek tyrannies; the country, it is true, owes no gratitude to Napoleon for substituting his will for the law, but still the influence of a foreign power which kept both the contending parties in check, was highly beneficial; and it would have been very desirable for Switzerland, if that state of things could have lasted one generation longer, until affairs had become settled. The circumstances in Greece were of a similar nature.

While in this manner, the great cities of Greece developed themselves, they also extended their power without. "We see Greece about this time suddenly raising itself; and such a speedy progress is quite a common phenomenon among commercial nations. The opening of Egypt, about Olymp. 27, also exercised a great influence upon the power of the Greek cities; and it was not till then that Greece began to be wealthy. The Greek spirit of enterprise could now display itself in quite a new direction; from their own country they could at most export only wine and oil, but they carried on the commerce from the Euxine to Egypt, and diffused the most varied productions of that fertile country among the neighbouring nations. Egypt was on terms of hostility with Phoenicia, whereby the commerce of the latter country was paralysed; the navy of Egypt, however, was only the work of great labour and skill, and a considerable part of its crews certainly consisted of Greeks." In the reign of Periander, Corinth

subdued Epidaurus, ruled over Corcyra, and completed her colonies on the coasts of Epirus and Illyricum; and thus extended her commerce immensely. "Not far from Corinth, a maritime and commercial people was rising in the island of Aegina; its excellent harbour had drawn to it more and more bold adventurers at sea, and the little island thus became a powerful commercial state." In like manner, the other larger towns rose in prosperity. Athens alone was kept in a low and weak condition by the oligarchs, until the time of Pisistratus, because three factions of the oligarchs were tearing one another to pieces; but the demos endeavoured to gain freedom by supporting the head of one faction against the other. During that state of affairs, even Megara was too powerful for Athens.

During this period, and in fact from the earliest times, great obscurity hangs over the changes in the other parts of Greece. This only is clearly perceptible, that at a not very late period, the Thessalians gradually extended their power. At first they had conquered the valley of the Peneus, and then the three subject nations, the Phthiotian Achaeans, the Perrhaebians, and Magnetes. But now, after their subjugation, probably not later than Olymp. 50, they advanced towards southern Hellas, and all Greece was threatened by the danger of being subdued by the Thessalians. They first turned against the Phocians, who were on the point of submitting to them, when despair made them victorious, and enabled them to repel the attack. Soon after this, the consequences of the uncultivated condition of the Thessalian tribes became manifest; for the Thessalian nation broke up, and lost all its strength through the factions of the oligarchs. Thessaly was the hotbed of oligarchy: the Aleuadae in Larissa, and the Scopadae in Pharsalus and Cranon, ruled like the Polish magnates. We there see a perfect picture of the dissolution of all order: Thessaly was no longer a state, but in the principal cities some one family ruled in a perfectly arbitrary manner. The country people were absolute serfs, while their lords gave themselves up to gluttony and drinking, for this was the privilege and the happiness of the powerful in Thessaly. All the vices of a corrupt oligarchy manifested themselves, and great as the power of the oligarchs was in the towns, Thessaly,

in its relations to the rest of Greece, was reduced to a state of perfect weakness. The country altogether furnishes a picture of Poland in its condition of dissolution; and its strange weakness, notwithstanding its extensive territory, was quite as manifest to the whole of Greece, as that of Poland was to the whole of modern Europe.

In the other parts of Greece there must have been great changes, though we do not possess the slightest trace of them. After the emigration of the Dorians, the Aetolians and Phocians must have extended themselves in their mountains, but we have no mention of it.[3] In this manner Greece proper continued for centuries; great wars were of rare occurrence, if we except the attempts of the Spartans to make conquests, the subjugation of Messenia, and the wars against Argos.

In the colonies the case was different. Chalcis and Eretria, *e. g.*, both cities of the Ionian race, were perpetually engaged in vehement wars. Both were maritime cities, and both, but especially Chalcis, extended their power by numberless settlements; "and it seems that they came into collision with each other through the disputes of their colonies." It is inconceivable how towns in so small an island, of which they possessed only a portion, could send out so many colonies without becoming themselves exhausted. A long protracted war was carried on between the two, and during that struggle the other states seemed to have taken a part by their wishes rather than by any real efforts; but this is all we know; the fact only is mentioned, and we do not even know the time of the struggle.

The Greek cities in Asia were much more flourishing than the states of the continent in Europe, where the conquests of the Thessalians and Spartans spread barbarism. The most prosperous among the Asiatic cities were those of Ionia, in regard to which we have to distinguish different periods. Colophon was the city among them which first became great and powerful, and even at a later time its name was proverbial for a great and mighty power: Κολοφῶνα ἐπιθεῖναι. It is expressly stated, that it had a strong body of cavalry, which shows that it ruled over an

[3] See the allusions above, pp. 274 and 275.

extensive territory. Next to Colophon, we must mention Erythrae; but we have no other traces of its greatness, than that it was able to carry on long wars with Colophon. The latter city, however, fell into the hands of Gyges, the first Lydian king, as early as Olymp. 20, and was afterwards captured by the Cimmerians. About the period from Olymp. 26 to 30, Asia suffered fearfully from the invasions of the Cimmerians: "They came with all the horrors of Tartar barbarians, and from the fragments of Callinus[4] we see, that their invasion was as formidable to the Greeks as it was to the Lydians." Colophon never recovered after its conquest by Gyges. A part of its inhabitants fled to Italy, and settled at Siris, in the neighbourhood of Sybaris.[5]

LECTURE XXXII.

The Magnetes also were very powerful in those earliest times, but we do not know, whether those on the Maeander or those of Mount Sipylus are meant. Their downfall seems to have been brought about by the inroads of the Cimmerians: the κακὰ Μαγνήτων were even proverbial. Samos also was distinguished for its prosperity; and there are several circumstances from which that island appears to have carried on a great commerce with Egypt. The temple of Hera, in Samos, was an extremely ancient building.

After the fall of Colophon, Miletus rose, and extended its power above all others by its colonies. Previously to Olymp. 30, the Greek colonies do not seem to have extended beyond the Hellespont; but now Milesians first settled at Cyzicus, and thence the settlements spread around the Propontis and the

[4] Comp. *Klein. Schrift.*, vol. i. p. 367, note 38.

[5] "Of the Greek colonies in Italy we shall, according to Justin's plan, speak hereafter."

Euxine. With the exception of the Megarian settlements at Byzantium and Heraclea, all the coasts of the Euxine were occupied by Milesians. Although these colonies were entirely independent of the mother city, yet they greatly contributed towards its greatness and prosperity not only through their dutifulness to the mother city, but through the identity and relationship of their institutions. The very fact that the mother city made no claims to rule over her colonies, as modern states do in regard to theirs, and that the colonies, in cases of emergency, assisted the parent city, produced in antiquity a cordial relation between the mother city and her colonies, of which we find but few exceptions, as, *e. g.*, between Corcyra and Corinth. Thus Miletus was a powerful and wealthy city as early as Olymp. 50, and in the time of Alyattes, it was able to sustain a war against all the power of the Lydian kings. When at last, after a severe struggle, it was forced to submit, it did not experience any evil consequences from this; it retained its constitution, and instead of the tyrants, the Lydian kings now were the mediators, by whose influence the factions were silenced. In the reign of Croesus, therefore, Miletus had reached its highest prosperity and greatness; and in this state it maintained itself until the times of Darius Hystaspis; it was not till the unfortunate insurrection of the Ionians, that Miletus sank from its height.

The most important event in Greece during this period, is the legislation of Solon, which belongs to the time of Pisistratus. Before the time of Solon, a deep darkness hangs over the constitution of Athens; nay, over the time of Solon himself, although he is a real historical personage, and not by any means mythical. From the accounts in the history of Solon, we see this much, that Cylon lived before him. Cylon was a noble Athenian at the time of the Attic aristocracy; he had gained a victory at Olympia, was a man of great influence, and aimed at making himself tyrant of Athens; but he was overpowered by the Alcmaeonids, and being blockaded in the Acropolis, he capitulated on condition that he should be allowed to live in freedom. Notwithstanding this, however, he and his followers were mur-

dered[1] by the conquerors. The celebrated legislation of Draco is likewise older than Solon; it was said of it, that it was written in blood; but it was only περὶ πῶν φονικῶν, "and had nothing to do with politics; it was only intended, by severe laws, to restore tranquillity among the people who had become uncontrollable."

If Solon's laws had been preserved, or if we even possessed only his elegies complete, we should have materials enough to form a satisfactory notion of the circumstances of his time, such as Demetrius Phalereus and Aristotle were enabled to form. These two are our best sources of information, for Plutarch is so uncritical, and puts his materials so indiscriminately together, that he makes as much use of Hermippus, the most fabulous of all writers, as he does of Demetrius Phalereus, a man of a critically severe and clear mind. He accumulates all that he can find, in order to make his account as complete as possible. Thus, for example, he will not pass over the story of the meeting between Solon and Croesus, and reports it without misgivings, notwithstanding the doubts raised by others. The history of Solon, in Plutarch, as far as its substance is concerned, consists of very heterogeneous elements; it contains statements deserving the highest confidence, and they can be traced to the best critical authorities, Aristotle or Demetrius Phalereus; besides Demetrius, Plutarch probably used Philochorus. Other statements, however, are entirely untrustworthy. When we first begin to occupy ourselves with the history of Solon, we are very disagreeably surprised at finding that, from the time when the history of Attica began to be treated chronologically, the archonship of Solon has been placed in Olymp. 46, while the account of his relation to Pisistratus, not to mention his meeting with Croesus, places him in Olymp. 56, or even later. If Solon lived to a very advanced age, the two statements are indeed not irreconcilable, since he might have framed his laws when a young man; it cannot, moreover, be questioned that he lived to an advanced age, and the contradiction thus seems to be removed; but it is, after all, not probable that Athens should

[1] This must be a *lapsus linguae*, for it is well known that Cylon escaped. —Ed.

have chosen him for its legislator in his youth, and without having tested him during a long career. The capture of Nisaea, moreover, is stated to have taken place in the youth of Solon; whereas, in the account of Pisistratus, the latter is said to have distinguished himself on that occasion, and represents him there, as well as in the conquest of Salamis, as co-operating with Solon. How this difficulty is to be solved, I do not know. We have no means of convincing ourselves, whether the positive date fixed for the archonship of Solon by those highly honourable men who have arranged the Attic chronology, can be adopted as quite certain. If it were possible to fix the time of Solon with certainty, it must have been in one of two ways; there either existed Fasti of the *archontes eponymi*, in which case it was only necessary to count the years backward, say from the time of Pisistratus; or there existed a generally-established era which could be followed. But of such an era, as, for example, the Capitoline era, not a trace is found in Greece. The era of the Olympiads, as we know for certain, was not employed till a very late period, Timaeus being the first to use it as a general era. In particular cases, it may have been employed before him, for an author like Timaeus does not invent such things, but he first brought it into general use. The instances in which the same is said to have been done at an earlier period, are very doubtful; Philochorus, indeed, also reckoned according to Olympiads, but he and Timaeus belong to precisely the same time. Hence all such statements regarding earlier periods are nothing but artificial calculations. It is, therefore, possible that the statement, that Solon was archon in Olymp. 46, is not absolutely certain, though it is very probable that there existed very good reasons for such a statement. I must, therefore, leave the chronological question to stand on its own ground, and I will not be too scrupulous in regard to a great number of events which are referred to Solon. I will only direct your attention to this additional circumstance, that though in the account adopted by Plutarch, Pisistratus and Solon appear as men about the same age, this cannot be reconciled in any way with chronology; for if that account were true, Megacles, who was the older contemporary and rival of Pisistratus, must likewise be conceived to have acted his part before the archonship of Solon.

The condition of Athens was very distressing before Solon came forward; the process of its decay, the result of various circumstances, had been going on for many generations. "The country was torn to pieces by the factions of the eupatrids, and with them the demos also was divided into parties. A great number of demotae were in bondage in consequence of debt, and were therefore at the mercy of the oligarchs. The country of Attica had been reduced to narrow limits, and commerce lay altogether prostrate." The island of Salamis, in front of the Piraeus—which port seems not to have been used, because it was entirely under the control of Salamis, Phalerus being the port of Athens—was in the hands of the Megarians. Megara had a period of greatness, which lies beyond our history, and during which it founded Byzantium and Heraclea on the Euxine, Megara in Sicily, and other less important colonies. The greatness which it acquired at the expense of Athens was lost, according to all appearance, during the period of the oligarchy, from which the tyrant Theagenes, in conjunction with the demos, delivered his country, but for his own advantage. It is a well-known tradition, that Athens, after many unsuccessful attempts to recover Salamis, at last enacted a law forbidding to remind the people of the loss of the island, or to incite them to fresh conquests, but that Solon notwithstanding ventured in the disguise of a madman to bring the question before the assembly in an elegy, and thus stirred up the Athenians to a war, in which they recovered Salamis. The manner in which the conquest was made is related in different ways. "Nicaea also was at that time taken away from Megara." On this occasion, it becomes obvious how little we can rely on the statements of the later half-Greeks, when they quote ancient writers as their authorities. Plutarch relates that the elegy which Solon recited on that occasion, was still extant among his poems, and he quotes the first words of it: Αὐτὸς κήρυξ ἦλθον ἀφ' ἱμερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος, etc. Now I ask any one, whether it is not clear, that the poem which Solon recited before the people, could not begin in this manner, and that in these words he rather refers to an earlier poem? It is evident that the former can have been only a prooemium serving as an introduction to the poem. Solon addresses the people in

such a poem instead of an harangue; as the other day an accused criminal at Paris pleaded his case in verse. Although, therefore, Plutarch often quotes Solon, it is yet very probable, that he took such quotations in reference to Solon as well as to others for the most part from anthologies, perhaps like that of Stobaeus. That such collections existed long before the time of Joannes Stobaeus, is clear from the "Stromata" of Clemens Alexandrinus, which are arranged according to *loci communes*. I am convinced that the collection of Stobaeus is only an extract from earlier Florilegia.

There is a statement, that an Attic colony of 500 Athenians, possessing τὸ κράτος τῆς νήσου, was established in Salamis. Hence Salamis, after the time of Solon, was a state dependent on Athens rather than an integral part of Attica. It probably stood at all times in a different relation from that of the real demos, although afterwards the Salaminians received the full franchise. It must, therefore, have been in nearly the same relation as a *colonia civium Romanorum*.

But the principal cause of the complete misery of Attica was its being involved in debt, according to the ancient law of debt which I have explained in my History of Rome.[1] In the early ages of all nations, throughout the East, as well as among the Romans and Germans, we find it to be the established law, that a poor man, or any one who required money, concluded with his creditor a bargain, in which he sold himself to his creditor, whereby the latter became sure of his money. This is the origin of the right of the creditor to make his debtor his prisoner. If the debtor did not pay, the creditor claimed him as his slave; and if he paid, he got rid of his *nexum*. This law existed in Attica as well as at Rome. Whoever forfeited his person in this way, lost his property, and the creditor was empowered not only to take the individual with all he possessed, and to make him work as his slave, but he might even sell him, though only abroad, and not in his own country to another citizen. Here we have the very opposite of servitude: Penestae and Helots could be sold, like the Russian serfs, only within the country,

[1] Comp. vol. i. p. 571, foll.

but the Athenian and Roman slaves for debt could be sold only out of the country. The intention was to make the law of debt as fearful as possible, in order to prevent persons recklessly running into debt. If an Athenian had been able to ransom a man enslaved for debt, he would immediately have recovered his position as a citizen, for every freed man was a citizen—he was not a *metoecus*, a condition which was reserved for foreign slaves and foreign freemen—hence the law forbidding them to be sold within the country. At Rome the case was precisely the same; and in this sense we are to understand the law of the Twelve Tables, that a nexus should be sold *trans Tiberim*. For if he was manumitted in a municipium, he became himself a municeps, and could lay claim to the Roman franchise: this was to be avoided, he therefore was to remain absolutely a stranger, even if he should be free. Thus many unfortunate Athenians were sold as slaves in distant countries, where they even forgot their mother tongue. Besides those who were slaves for debt, there occurs another peculiar intermediate class, which Plutarch in his account mentions on excellent authority, but which he has misunderstood; I mean the ἑκτημόριοι. He mistakes them for real nexi, who had sold themselves to a master, and accordingly were Thetes or serfs; but the Hectemorii were persons cultivating their land on condition of their paying the sixth part of its produce to their master. This tax not being very heavy, that class of men was not in very distressing circumstances. We must strictly distinguish them from the Thetes who were alike deprived of property and of personal freedom. The condition of the Hectemorii probably originated in very early times, the period of the Ionic conquest; they were the ancient Atticans, who, from the time of their ancestors, had retained possession of their own estates, on condition of their paying a certain amount of the produce to their lords as an hereditary rent, the lords standing to them in the relation of cleruchi.

The amount of debts at Athens, as I said before, was immense; and we know for certain that Solon put an end to this state of things. But in what manner he effected this, and what his σεισάχθεια was, these are questions on which the opinions of the ancients differ. Two facts, however, are well established, viz.,

that Solon, by redeeming the estates from the burdens under which they were suffering, reduced the debts themselves; and secondly, that he raised the value of money by making the mina of seventy-three drachmas worth one hundred drachmas. There is no trace to show how many drachmas were originally contained in a pound; it is not improbable, however, that at one time it contained twelve drachmas, and that it continued to become lighter, but this is a point on which we can only form conjectures. Even many of the ancients believed, that the seisachtheia was nothing else than a lightening of the standard of the coinage; but Solon's reform, which is evidently described as a decisive one, does not seem to have consisted in this alone. In ancient times, *novae tabulae* are of such frequent occurrence, that I see no reason for doubting that Solon did something that was unusually bold. We may conjecture with probability that he did what was often done by the Roman tribunes, viz., that he lightened the standard of the coinage, but at the same time deducted the interest already paid from the principal, and abolished the security which the creditor had on the lands of his debtor. It is also clear, that he did entirely away with the law of nexum, for from this time we hear no more of slaves for debt. Solon did at Athens, what the tribunes did at Rome, and what Sully did in France: Sully acted on the principle that whatever had been paid in interest beyond a reasonable rate, should be regarded as so much of the principal paid back. "The consequence of Solon's measures, was, that a number of slaves for debt, who had been sold by their masters abroad, were ransomed."

But besides this, Solon was also a law-giver. Every one knows of his laws, but the question here is how far did his legislation extend? Legislation in antiquity is on the whole, not confined to the civil law, it always comprises, more or less, the whole, *jus publicum* as well as the *jus privatum*. It is, however, not necessary on this account, that a legislator should upset all the existing relations of a state, if there was no need for it; and where there did not exist the necessity for such a change, he might leave the ancient institutions untouched. There can be no doubt that Solon did make changes in the Attic

constitution; but in his time most points still remained as they had been before. Athens was divided into four phylae, each of which was represented by one hundred senators; but this division comprised only the four Ionic tribes, by the side of which there existed the demos. Solon, however, introduced a timocracy, by instituting four classes (συμμορίαι), "according to which the members of the senate were to be elected," viz., the πενταχοσιομέδιμνοι, ἱππεῖς, ζευγῖται, and θῆτες. The first are the landed proprietors, whose income amounted to five hundred *medimni*, a *medimnus* being the general name for any measure, ἐν ξεροῖς καὶ ὑγροῖς, for the term embraced every kind of income, that of corn and fruits which were measured, as well as the corresponding measure of wine and oil. The ἱππεῖς were those whose lands yielded an income of three hundred measures, that is, men able to keep a war-horse, and who in time of war served on horse-back; the ζευγῖται, were those who were able to keep a pair of oxen to cultivate their own farm, but did not keep horses; their annual income amounted to two hundred measures. All the rest formed the class of thetes. "The citizens of all the four classes had the right of voting, but their eligibility differed according to the classes to which they belonged." These classes seem, in the time of Solon, to have comprised the whole population of Attica. The thetes, constituting the bulk of the ancient inhabitants, seem to have included those Ionians, and even eupatrids, who were not possessed of property. Solon's main object seems to have been to limit the pretensions of the families of the four tribes (every tribe was subdivided into three φρατρίαι, and every phratria into thirty γένη or *gentes*), and to exclude those who had no property at all. We know for certain, that even for a long time after the revolution of Cleisthenes, only those of the eupatrids who were πενταχοσιομέδιμνοι were eligible to the office of archon; hence it is clear that not all the eupatrids were eligible, but at the same time a πενταχοσιομέδιμνος could not become archon, unless he was a eupatrid; and this was assuredly a regulation of Solon. "We have no information as to what were the particular rights of the ἱππεῖς and ζευγῖται." It is a fact beyond all doubt, that the demos was then still completely distinct from the ἀστοί or πολῖται: it is

indeed probable that the demos, even at an early time, had a special constitution of its own,[2] but it is certain that it had no share in the government; it was Cleisthenes who first united the two elements of the nation into one great body, and gave to the demos a share in the sovereignty. "The court of the Areopagites, which had a direct influence upon all political matters, was composed of men who had been archons; it constituted a certain undefinable power, without which no state can exist for any length of time; at Rome it was possessed by the senate, which, on extraordinary emergencies, might transfer it to the consuls.

As regards the history of the Athenian magistrates until the time of Solon, we only know that the archons for life were succeeded by archons elected for the space of ten years, in both cases persons belonging to the royal family alone were eligible; then followed the ἀρχὴ ἐπετήσιος. We do not know what difference there was between an archon for life and a king; it is possible that besides the archon there existed, even at that time, a *rex sacrorum*, so that the archon was deprived of the religious halo which surrounded the king. The ἀρχὴ ἐπετήσιος was originally, no doubt, something different from the subsequent nine archons." When and how these latter, the three real magistrates and the six thesmothetae, became a college is a question which we cannot answer; but at the time of the Pisistratids the college was already in existence.[3] "Certain it is that the number 3×3 is not accidental, but there is not a trace that could lead us to any conclusion. In this college the archon has for his attendants the βασιλεὺς and the πολέμαρχος, so that of all the royal prerogatives he retained only the right of presiding in the senate, of convening the assembly of the people, and of appointing the judges: his power was, therefore, somewhat like that of the Roman praetor. The institutions of all ancient nations have originally a great resemblance to one another, but

[2] "It is possible that the ναύκραροι were originally a magistracy of the demos: *capitani* and judges; but subsequently their attributes were altered."—1826.

[3] This remark has been inserted here from the account of the Pisistratids, p. 294.—Ed.

in later times they diverge, until in the end all resemblance disappears."

One of the principal events in the history of Solon is the war against Cirrha or Crissa (the two forms are only dialectic differences of the same name), which is likewise one of those towns of Greece, the greatness of which belongs to a period anterior to history. The place was situated on the gulf of Corinth, between Delphi and the sea, and its inhabitants were accused of having usurped a tyranny over the sacred property of the Delphic temple. The Amphictyons are said to have consulted the oracle about it, and to have declared war against the town. It is indeed certain that there existed in Phocis a large, wealthy, and commercial town, and that it was attacked and destroyed by the united forces of the Greeks; but all the rest that is related about it, is not established on sufficient authority.

Thus far the history of Solon is authentic. "His legislation, however, did not prevent the division of the state into factions, and the result of their disputes was the government of Pisistratus," to which we shall now direct our attention. His merits are not generally recognised; but he was the real founder of the greatness of the Athenian state. Herodotus is on this point not free from partiality; and he does not perceive the real truth when he regards the fall of the Pisistratids as the cause of the greatness of Athens. When the time had passed away in which they acted beneficially, they exercised, indeed, a severe oppression upon Athens, and it was desirable that they should be removed; but their father was no less beneficial to Athens than the laws of Solon were.

LECTURE XXXIII.

Obscure as is the history of Pisistratus, I still believe that we may assume the chronological dates of his reign and that of his

sons to be certain,[1] while the details of his history are problematical. Thus the relation said to have existed between him and Solon is more than doubtful. The history of the Pisistratids is very much like many portions of Roman history, where the more minute narratives are for the most part unhistorical, while the indefinite statements are more correct. The following facts, however, are well established:—Pisistratus was a member of the γένος of the Neleids, to which the last Athenian kings also had belonged; and his father, Hippocrates, was one of the most illustrious men in Attica. He made his revolution in the same manner as the other tyrants, by placing himself at the head of the demos against the oligarchs; and as the former was divided into factions, he headed that of the Hyperacrii, or the inhabitants of the hills, while the Pediaei, or the inhabitants of the plain, were devoted to the aristocracy. When he had gained the confidence of the demos, he prevailed upon them to grant him a body guard; and being supported by it and by the favour of the demos, he brought about the revolution (Olymp. 54, 3), by which he gradually acquired absolute power. But he did not maintain it without interruption, for his opponents twice succeeded in expelling him. He returned the first time, according to Herodotus, by making a reconciliation with the Alcmaeonid Megacles, the leader of his adversaries. But having fallen out with Megacles, and being again obliged to leave Athens, he effected his return by force of arms. "He assembled an army in Eretria, received succour from several states, landed in Attica, and entered the city, after having taken by surprise the Athenians who had marched out against him."

During the last period, his government appears to have been more oppressive than during the first, not, however, towards the people, but only towards his opponents, the oligarchs. Aristotle states, that of a period of thirty-three years, reckoned from the first establishment of the tyrannis until his death, he reigned seventeen years; and that his sons after him maintained their power during the space of eighteen years.

[1] "Other particular statements relative to the early times are likewise correct, as, for example, that of Aristotle respecting the history of the Cypselids."

We might imagine that, with such interruptions, Pisistratus had not the time to do much; but he, notwithstanding, accomplished great things during his government. It is quite surprising to find Athens as early as his reign so powerful at sea, as to be able to occupy Sigeum, at the mouth of the Hellespont, and to establish herself in the districts on the Strymon, so important on account of their mines. Down to the time of Philip, the Athenians always strove to gain possession of those districts, first of all on account of the gold and silver mines, which were first worked by the Thracians, and afterwards by King Philip, who founded Philippi;[2] and in the next place on account of their timber. Europe now receives its timber from the Baltic, but the Greeks, or at least the Athenians, obtained theirs from three distinct countries. I have no doubt that the Corinthians obtained theirs from Epirus, a country abounding in excellent forests, through its settlements at Ambracia and Anactorium. The Athenians, on the other hand, imported their timber chiefly from the country about the Strymon, which was their nearest source, for the Thracian hills abounded in oak and fir trees. Besides these, there were two other sources, mount Lebanon and the island of Cyprus, which were subsequently resorted to by the Macedonian kings for their arsenals, but are not mentioned in those early times, no doubt because the jealousy of the Phoenicians did not allow the Greeks to export timber from those quarters. The Phoenicians kept mount Lebanon entirely under their own control, and from Cyprus the export cannot have been quite free, because the Greek towns in the island were under Phoenician supremacy, and were always kept down to some extent. "We know little of the wars, which, according to Herodotus,[3] Pisistratus carried on with the Mitylenaeans about Sigeum; the statements respecting them are irreconcilable with other chronological data. Periander, who is said to have brought about a reconciliation between the Athenians and Mitylenaeans, and Pittacus, too, who is said to have been at the

[2] "It was about the same time that the mines of Laurium were discovered, and began to be worked; and this circumstance had great influence upon the wealth of Athens."—1826.

[3] v. 94.

head of the Mitylenaeans, had died before the first tyrannis of Pisistratus; nor can Alcaeus have lost his arms in that war, as is stated by Herodotus."

Pisistratus acted as men do in a period of rising prosperity. I see no reason for disbelieving the statement, that he commenced collecting books; for books then began to be objects of importance; and in whatever way we may understand the particulars of the very corrupt statements respecting the part he took in the arrangement of the Homeric poems, there is certainly some truth at the foundation of them. It seems certain that, before his time, the Homeric poems were little known, and that he contributed something towards naturalising them at Athens. His government was somewhat oppressive, from the fact that he introduced a land-tax, which was a burden upon every proprietor. Wherever, and at whatever time a land-tax has been introduced, it has excited the discontent of the country people, who look upon it, as if a portion of their property were taken away from them. Hence it was not continued at Athens, though its abolition was only one of those delusions which are sometimes necessary to be used against prevailing follies; for, in point of fact, the Athenians still paid the tax, only under the different name of a property-tax: the estates were valued, and the land-tax became connected with the census.

Pisistratus and his sons, but especially the latter, adorned Athens with public buildings. Until that time, the city had nothing remarkable or striking; the temples were built in the ancient Pelasgian style, and the Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος on the Acropolis was a very ancient castle. The temple of Zeus (the Ὀλυμπιεῖον or Ὀλύμπιον, for both forms are equally correct), which was now constructed, was the first great ornamental building at Athens; it was erected at a great expense; it inspired the Athenians with a feeling of pride, and gave them occupation. The Pisistratids also erected the building which adorned the well Ἐννεάκρουνος, and many others.

The Pisistratids (Olymp. 63, 1) left the whole constitution of Athens unchanged, just as it had been from the time of Solon. One of them, for there were three brothers, was always in the

college of the nine archons; and Hippias, the eldest, was no doubt perpetual strategus. The relation between the polemarchus and the strategus is not clear, nor do we know in what manner the office of the polemarchus became a mere title. There can be no doubt that, at one time, he was really the commander of the army; it cannot, therefore, be conceived, that he should always have been a merely nominal dignitary. At the time of the battle of Marathon, the polemarchus still was one of the generals. Just as at Venice, everything tended to make the Doge, who had once been a prince, a mere cypher, so at Athens everything tended to make the college of the archons as weak as possible, just because in former times it had possessed the highest power. During the period subsequent to the Persian wars, the main object was to render the highest magistracy, and not only the βουλὴ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, powerless, and many of the reforms of Pericles and Ephialtes had no other object. In such cases, the energetic vitality of a nation must devise other means. "Hippias reduced the land-tax from one-tenth to one-twentieth part; and the Athenians, under his administration, thus paid far less than at the period of their greatest prosperity." In this manner the Pisistratids governed mildly and gloriously, until the insult offered by them to Harmodius, which is mentioned by Thucydides, induced Harmodius and Aristogiton to form a conspiracy for the purpose of overthrowing the Pisistratids. Hipparchus, the second in age, was murdered by them (Olymp. 66, 3). The names of the sons of Pisistratus were Hippias, Hipparchus, and Thessalus. Although family names were not used at Athens, as they were among the Romans, yet the names bear such a resemblance, as to indicate relationship. The grandson generally had the same name as the grandfather, and often the names of one family, without being completely alike, yet resemble one another, and remind us of one another; as, in the present instance, the names Hippias and Hipparchus remind us of Hippocrates, the father of Pisistratus.

For fourteen years the Pisistratids reigned in brotherly concord; but now the peace was disturbed, and their gentle and humane government was changed into a harsh and severe rule; the last years of Hippias were oppressive; "he increased his

troops, and wherever he felt distrust, he shed blood." The Alcmaeonids, a race which seems to have been the rival of the Neleids even from very early times, were the most determined opponents of the Pisistratids. Their greatness is not by any means to be referred to Alcmaeon, the contemporary of Croesus; nor is he the ancestor of their race; but the Alcmaeon of the heroic age, the son of Amphiaraus, is their archegetes, and it is quite accidental that that Alcmaeonid was called Alcmaeon. Megacles was a member of that race. After his dispute with Pisistratus the Alcmaeonids had quitted Athens, and fortified themselves in a place called Leipsydrion. Its situation is doubtful, I believe that in Herodotus, we must read Λειψύδριον ὑπὲρ Παιανίης; for ὑπὲρ Παιονίης is an inconceivable statement, because this would signify a settlement above Paeonia, even beyond the Doberus, on Mount Rhodope towards the frontier of Dardania. This is absurd, for how could the Alcmaeonids have established themselves so far away in Thrace? According to our reading, it was an ἐπιτείχισμα in Attica itself, and this seems much more probable. It is evident that they retained possession of their wealth, which was immense; and by means of this, they provided themselves with arms against those who had treated them so mildly. They prevailed upon the Pythia to command the Lacedaemonians to expel the tyrants of Athens and restore its freedom. There are many other places where the Spartans interfered for the purpose of expelling tyrants: their motives for doing so are manifest; they wished to support the oligarchy, and they certainly did not expel tyrants in favour of liberty. The same spirit is visible in their actions at all times. The temple of Delphi had at that time been consumed by fire; for a very small sum of money, the Alcmaeonids now undertook its restoration, and rebuilt it in a magnificent and costly manner. This is, in Greek history, the first trace of a building of marble. The Lacedaemonians undertook the expulsion of the Pisistratids; the first attempt failed; but in a second they were more successful: they besieged them, and intercepted their children as they were being conveyed to Sigeum. A capitulation was then made, in which the Pisistratids were obliged to quit Athens (Olymp. 67, 3). "They withdrew to Sigeum." The Alcmaeonids then returned

and at once gained the ascendancy. It would seem that the Spartans expected that the government would not be sufficiently oligarchical; but in this hope they were disappointed. Whatever may have been his motives, whether it was Cleisthenes' wisdom and a sense of justice, or whether it was that the relation in which Isagoras stood to Cleomenes, the king of Sparta, obliged him to secure his power upon another basis, the fact was, that Cleisthenes adopted a policy which was entirely opposed to the oligarchy, and was, perhaps, the same as that which had been followed by Pisistratus himself. Herodotus, who no doubt judges correctly of these occurrences, says, that Cleisthenes gained the demos over to his side, and divided the Athenians, who formed four phylae, into ten, subdividing each phyle into ten demi. Now the question is, whether Cleisthenes as early as that time, raised the ten φυλαὶ τοπικαὶ to the rank of a national division, or whether he gave such a division only to the demos, allowing the four ancient phylae to exist along side of it. Or must we assign to a later date the fusion by which the ten phylae were made to embrace the whole nation, so that the four ancient phylae disappeared? or, lastly, was it from the first intended to be a constitution for the whole state? These are questions to which unfortunately, we can give no clear answers. If we possessed Aristotle's "Politiae," we should be able to solve the mystery. This much only we can say, that one of two things must have been the case: either Cleisthenes was the first who gave to the demos a constitution allowing the four ancient tribes to exist along with it, or the demos had already its constitution, and Cleisthenes' reform consisted in the fact, that he raised the already existing partial division to the rank of a national one, and united the four phylae with the demos. Herodotus is somewhat vague in his expressions. I will here remind you of Cleisthenes, the ruler of Sicyon, the grandfather of the Athenian Cleisthenes on the mother's side, whose daughter had brought the great riches into the family. The elder Cleisthenes had changed the tribes of Sicyon, which being governed by Dorians had three tribes, the Hyllians, Pamphylians and Dymanates. Cleisthenes was not a Dorian, but belonged to the demos, the ancient inhabitants, and was accordingly an Ionian or Achaean. He formed the demos

into a new phyle, giving it the name of ἀρχέλαοι, and making it the principal one, while he gave to the three phylae of the ruling families contemptuous names, the Hyllians being called ὗαται, and the two others ὀνεᾶται and χοιρεᾶται. This constitution of the demos as a fourth tribe is an exact parallel to the position, which at Rome, after the expulsion of the kings, the leading men at first wanted to assign to the plebs in its relation to the tribes; I allude to the time when the four *tribuni celerum* were appointed. It was for the same reason, that after the reconciliation of the two orders at Rome, the *ludi Romani* which had before lasted three days, were now increased to four, the plebs being regarded as a new tribe added to the three ancient ones.[4] "Cleisthenes has been censured for having been the author of the Athenian democracy, but the subsequent degenerate state of affairs was not his work.

Cleisthenes, at all events, was the man of the people: "the ancient feuds of the oligarchs, which had been kept under by the Pisistratids, were now revived;" and Isagoras, the son of Pisander, the friend of King Cleomenes, now rose against Cleisthenes. There is much scandal in history, but if Herodotus' account is true, the cause of that friendship was disgraceful; but the common opinion of men seems to be, that the end sanctifies the means. Cleomenes, whose assistance had been solicited by Isagoras, appeared at Athens, and the two, under an hypocritical pretext, made a revolution: Cleisthenes and seven hundred heads of families were sent into exile, and the government of Athens was intrusted to an oligarchy of three hundred men. Here we see, how the Spartans everywhere introduced their own forms: as the thirty tyrants after the Peloponnesian war, so on this occasion also the government of three hundred answered to the Doric trichotomy, which was quite foreign to the nature of the Athenians. When Pisander and Phrynichus instituted a senate of four hundred, they did not, in fixing upon the number four, think of mystical combinations, such as the four seasons of the year, or the four elements; but they evidently remembered the ancient Attic senate of four

[4] Comp. *Hist. of Rome*, i. p. 520, foll.

hundred, previous to the time of Cleisthenes, and fancied that they were returning to the golden age of antiquity by reviving the ancient form, which was entirely accidental. It was like what we see in our own days in our own country, where many believe that matters would be in an infinitely better condition, if hair powder were introduced again!

But the people rose against the change of Isagoras and Cleomenes (Olymp. 68, 1). The latter had carelessly ventured to go into the city without the protection of a powerful army, and maintained himself indeed in the Acropolis, but was obliged to capitulate by repeated and bold insurrections. He and his Lacedaemonians obtained a free departure; but the Athenians and the other foreign Greeks, who were found in the Acropolis, were taken prisoners, and put to death as guilty of high-treason. Cleisthenes and the exiles were recalled. It is possible, that Cleisthenes, having previously constituted the demos as one-half of the state, may now have abolished the four ancient tribes, and made the ten phylae a national division by combining them with the former. The political antiquities of Athens are very difficult to understand. An error here prevails which originated with Salmasius, whose writings are extremely instructive, but who, notwithstanding his brilliant learning, had incredibly little judgment: his judgment is as confused as that of Casaubonus and Scaliger is clear. In his time, there still existed among his countrymen, Valesius and Palmerius, men of the old school, but Salmasius' mind was in a chaotic confusion. He first promulgated an error, which afterwards became the prevailing opinion, and which, I believe, I was the first to overthrow. He said that each of the ten tribes was divided into three phratriae, and each of the phratria into thirty γένη. But it has become clear to me, that this division applies only to the ancient four Ionic tribes.[5] The question now is, what was the relation existing between the γένη and the demos? My belief is, that at a certain time, which I cannot define (it may have been done by Cleisthenes after his restoration, or perhaps a little later under Themistocles), the four tribes were entirely abolished, and the

[5] Comp. *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 321, foll.

γένη were partly enrolled in the ancient demi, and incorporated with them, and partly added to the ancient number as new demi, so that they were not enrolled in any of the existing demi. There were γένη, the members of which did not belong to any demos, and others whose members belonged to several very different demi; and there are others again of which I can show that they occur as separate demi. The Philaïdae, for example, who were an ancient γένος, also occur as a demos; and of this kind are all the names of demi which have no reference to any place, and have a patronymic termination. Moreover, though the four tribes were abolished, the phratriae were not done away with, but their character became entirely different; they now became independent of the phylae and γένη, being made a national division, and every γνήσιος Ἀττικὸς belonged to a phratria. If you understand this correctly, all the difficulties are removed which arise out of the difference between the original nature of the phratriae and that which we subsequently find mentioned in the orators, and in Aristophanes.

"After the return of Cleisthenes Athens became tranquil, and a period of great prosperity commenced." The expulsion of Isagoras and Cleomenes indeed once more induced the Spartans to make war upon Attica (Olymp. 69, 1); but the undertaking failed, the Spartan allies deserted, and King Demaratus himself abandoned the attempt. Cleomenes was obliged to retreat, "and the Athenians carried on a successful war against the Thebans and Chalcidians. The Spartans now began to repent of having delivered Athens, seeing that the city was rising so much," and they were inclined to restore the Pisistratids; but their allies again refused all participation, for they were glad to see a second power rising which formed a counterpoise to the influence of Sparta.

This was the condition of Greece about Olymp. 68. About that time a protracted war broke out between Athens and Aegina, which occasioned the Athenians in particular to build a fleet, and, by developing their power in that direction, to become a maritime state. We cannot clearly distinguish whether the war commenced before or during the reign of the Pisistratids; as for its details, I refer you to Herodotus.

As regards Aegina, I will direct your attention to certain circumstances, for the current notion about that island is quite untenable. We have very few statements of the ancients respecting population, and what there is has generally been misunderstood; some statements which occur in Athenaeus, and have been supposed to be correct, are evidently completely false. I am not inclined to regard any statement of an ancient writer as absolutely false, but those which we find in Athenaeus about the numbers of slaves at Athens, Corinth, and especially in Aegina, are mere nonsense: a small island containing one little town, is said to have contained, independently of its free population, no less than 470,000 slaves! If the population of Aegina had been as large as that, the island itself would not have been able to maintain it for a fortnight, and the people would have been under the necessity of deriving the means of subsistence altogether from abroad. How could they have obtained them? and what a fleet would have been required? It must, moreover, be observed that the maritime power of Aegina was of very short duration, and that not long before the rise of Attica, Aegina was dependent on the small state of Epidaurus, and was only a very little town. Letronne has expressed himself against the absurdity of these statements in a manner which I entirely approve of. The successful war of the Spartans, under Cleomenes, against Argos, also falls about that period. In consequence of this war, the Argive bondsmen were admitted to the franchise, for the Doric citizens were almost extirpated, and through the revolt of all the surrounding towns, Argos was almost confined to its immediate territory. In this manner Argos lost still more of its Doric character.

LECTURE XXXIV.

THE extraordinary difference in the degree of quickness with which life moves onward, which at certain times rushes on

with immense rapidity, while at others it proceeds with almost imperceptible slowness, so that generations pass away without any remarkable changes, is one of the characteristics of history in different periods. I have already directed attention to this phenomenon in my Lectures on the history of the last forty years.[1] The observation of such facts is one of those things by which ancient history enters into real life, and takes its place by the side of contemporaneous history, of which we ourselves have been witnesses. We need not wonder that ancient history, on the whole, is regarded as if its events had never actually happened; for it is commonly looked at without any attempt to understand it, and men judge of it by quite a different standard from that which is applied to modern history; but even the latter is not understood as it should be. Hence the differences before alluded to have been entirely overlooked, and the history of antiquity is divided into periods without any regard to their differences; the division, in fact, is made with the same uniformity with which the bodies of the universe are classified, and as if it were altogether forgotten that history is a living body.

This difference in the course of events is particularly striking in the history of Greece. Even towards the time of the Persian wars, an increasing acceleration in the movements of life is perceptible; and from that time until the end of the Peloponnesian war, during a period of eighty years, the movement is such that the nation, with incredible rapidity, passes through all stages in literature, and in the manifestations of life; through the greatest extremes of good and evil, and from the premature decay of youth unto perfect manhood. The rapidity is of the same kind as that which we see in modern history; for example, in Germany, from the time when King Frederic II. appeared, that is from the year 1740, until the end of the last century. Such periods are usually named after a particular man, as the age of Pericles, the age of Louis XIV., the age of Frederic the Great, etc. But such names must not be regarded as anything more than mere designations; for the man himself is the child of the age, and is often more influenced by it than he himself

[1] *Gesch. des Zeitalters der Revolution*, vol. i. p. 65.

acts upon it. At such times, favouring circumstances start into life and being at a thousand points; and unless this is the case, even the mightiest minds can effect nothing. There are other periods, in which centuries pass away without any great or essential change; such a uniformity of life occurs in Italy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, extending even into the thirteenth. The first and second centuries after Christ, but more especially the second and third, were another period of the same kind for the Roman empire.

Before the time of Pisistratus, there was not indeed a perfect stagnation in Greece; there was in fact a great deal of life, but it was a life which in all matters of importance remained at the same point, and its onward movement was but very slow. It is a peculiarity of such periods of retarded movement, that men take little part in the affairs of the actual world, and being dependent on the past, direct their thoughts to it much more than to the future. Wherever such a state of things is healthy, it is that of youthful life, which is generally the forerunner of a great development; as for example, in English literature the period before Shakspeare, and in Italian literature, that before Dante, or the period of the thirteenth century. But there are also periods, in which such a stand-still does not prepare for any development, but is only a conservative continuation of the existing state of things, though it may have lost its life and contain no germs of future progress, so that it is undergoing the process of decay. The continuation of the literature of the fifteenth century, during the sixteenth and down to the eighteenth century, at Florence, was a period of this kind. In times of youthful development, when everything great is quietly preparing—in such a case, however, the very greatest things may have already been produced in a preceding period, and the actual state of things may be the last effort of a by-gone age—in such a time of stillness, history is in a singular predicament. People devote all their energies to the affairs of ordinary life, and discharge their duties; but the events that take place around them are of very little interest to them, as soon as they are accomplished. Such a state of things appears, *e. g.*, in the first chronicle of Milan in the eleventh century; the people considered

neither themselves nor their contemporaries to be worth anything, and looked back to a time that had completely passed away. In like manner, the Germans of that period regarded themselves and their contemporaries as quite ordinary men. The age did not look upon itself as an heroic age, and possessed no vanity; only the persons of an earlier or heroic age being capable of inspiring it with admiration.

Greece was in this condition till about the beginning of the Persian wars; and this accounts for the fact that no history and no prose of any kind was written, and that people took no interest in what was passing around them or what had happened in the age immediately preceding their own; they rather looked up to the heroic ages as something higher, and the latter was to them the actual world in which they lived, and moved, and saw themselves reflected. Hence it happened, that, after Homer had come to be regarded as the noblest flower of a past age, the epic poets of the old school, who succeeded him until about Olymp. 60, always dwelt upon the same subjects. But when the power and the magic of the ancient times began to decrease, in proportion as the activity and interest of the actual world increased, the strength of the existing generation, which was already highly developed, was beheld with pleasure, and a sense of its own worth first applied poetry to the existing age, and gave rise to poetical narratives. But as the actual life offered so much to relate that could not be related in verse, poetical narrative was soon followed by historical narrative, which more easily satisfied the general desire to remember the things that were happening. Hecataeus was the first who thus came forward and related what had happened in his own time, what he had seen during his travels, and what he had heard of the different nations. It is inconceivable, why Dionysius did not consult Hecataeus for information about ancient Italy, for he had treated of that country also. I have found two or three passages (in Stephanus of Byzantium) which show that he was well acquainted with Italy. This kind of narrative was then followed by what is called pragmatical history.

The earliest Greek poetry extant is narrative, in which the poet developed out of himself an objective kind of poetry; but

popular poetry everywhere begins subjectively with expressions of suffering, indignation, and joy; with songs of longing, love, and pain. This kind of poetry is the common property of all nations; and it is assuredly much more ancient in Greece than the time of the lyric poets. There can be no doubt that the Greeks had songs as early as the time of the Homeric poems: who would question this, seeing that in Homer the language is metrically more perfect than any other in the world? Its *morae* seems to be the result of musical time. A language so peculiarly adapted to song, cannot possibly have been without early popular songs, which however were afterwards lost. The most ancient expressions of subjective emotions that were extant, appear to have been songs of combat and strife, as war itself is the most ancient. Of this kind were the Margites, the excellent poem of the Colophonian Homer, and the songs of Archilochus. The Margites, the beginning of which

Ἦλθέ τις εἰς Κολοφῶνα γέρων καὶ θεῖος ἀοιδός,
Μουσάων θεράπων καὶ ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,
Φίλλης ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν εὐφθογγον λύρην.

has recently been published from a grammarian,[2] consists of hexameters alternating with trimeters; Aristotle certainly not justly places it by the side of the Iliad and the Odyssey; its excellence did not allow of its being assigned to any one else than to "Homer divine." How little do the ancients resemble us in the diligence of searching out what is concealed! and how strange, and on the whole how miserable are the investigations of the Alexandrians! The Alexandrian who wrote the life of Homer attributed to Herodotus, does not seem to have read the Margites; for what ample materials would he have found there to enrich his biography! The poems of Archilochus were likewise martial songs. Eris, therefore, was the first peculiarity of the subjective poetry of the Greeks; but as soon as poets became conscious of the subjective element, another form of poetry appeared: the elegy was developed as the child of hexameter poetry. Nothing can be more simple than the origin of elegiac metre, if we consider it musically, and separate the

[2] In 1821, by Fr. Lindemann in his *Lyra*, vol. i. p. 82.

two halves of the hexameter. If we imagine hexameters sung to the guitar, we shall naturally incline to make a pause after the hexameters, and how natural is the addition of a pentemimeres as a kind of a spontaneous echo of the feeling of the hexameter! By putting together two pentemimeres, the pentameter was formed, the second half forming the new beginning. Hence there is always an incision or pause in the middle of a pentameter, but the two halves must not be considered as separated. This metre is unsuitable to satire, but is particularly adapted to express melancholy and the emotions of memory: it is in reality the development of hexameter poetry. In this manner elegiac poetry was represented by Callinus and Mimnermus; but it soon took a different turn, which, however, considering its mildness and softness, was quite natural to it: it became gnomic poetry. When a person in his old age, after his passions have ceased to rage and are at rest, begins to reflect upon life; this retrospect upon the life that is passed, is expressed in gnomes. The elegiac form is peculiar to this gnomic poetry, which properly speaking commences with Solon.

It was about this time that the great lyric poets first appeared. They belong to a period which was becoming more and more free, a period in which the individual begins more and more to feel himself, and to perceive in himself the opposition to the external world; he comes forward, and, no longer concealing his feelings, or pondering over them in his mind, boldly and loudly proclaims them as far as his voice can reach. In such times lyric poetry rises to its highest point; and what in popular poetry was the gift bestowed upon all now becomes the peculiar talent of the individual who fosters and cherishes it. This sudden rise of lyric poetry began in the time of Pittacus and Pisistratus, about Olymp. 50. At this time it was thriving everywhere; no part of Greece had a monopoly in poetry, but ancient continental Greece was least productive; in Aeolis and Ionia, lyric poetry reached the highest perfection; and Sicily had its Stesichorus, who, if he was inferior to any one as a lyric poet, was inferior only to Alcaeus. Lyric poetry, as soon as it became a distinct branch, reached its highest development, and its true flourishing period lasted till about Olymp. 60. Of the

lyric poets who belong to a later time, it seems that Pindar alone can be compared with the earlier ones; but I believe that, if we had Alcaeus, Pindar would appear by the side of him only as a poet of the second order. Pindar had already left the true domain of lyric poetry; he used his poetry as an instrument, as Simonides did, on occasions when epic poetry would have been in its proper place. In those poems of his which are still extant, the Epinician Odes, he is not at all subjective; and as the Greeks permitted the strings of Timotheus' lyre to be broken because he had changed the mode of the ancient music, they ought to have done the same to Pindar, for he transferred subjects which ought to have been treated in the epic form, into lyric poetry where they were out of place. If we had his θρῆνοι and the other ἄσματα, in which he was subjective, he would be above all censure; but in his Epinicia we behold an age, in which the different tones of poetry were already confounded. However, notwithstanding all this, he is a poet of immense powers, and his works cannot be sufficiently admired and enjoyed; though he gave a false tone to lyric poetry. The same remark applies in the highest degree to Simonides, although he was a man of extraordinary genius. He is the first who developed the shorter elegies to celebrate particular exploits; and he was the author of the excellent Greek epigrams, of which he must be regarded as the chief creator; for although there are earlier attempts, it was he who gave them their peculiar excellence. Many of the epigrams that pass under ancient names are certainly not genuine; those ascribed to Sappho are more than doubtful; the celebrated poem, entitled Ῥώμη, in Stobaeus, is neither more nor less than the production of a very late poet, who perhaps lived in the time of the Macedonian war, or even later, perhaps even in the time of the emperors, probably in the seventh century of Rome.[3]

"The place of poetry was afterwards occupied by the fine arts, a phenomenon which has been repeated to some extent in modern times. Epic poetry ceases when lyric poetry begins; and the decay of lyric poetry nearly coincides with the rise of

[3] See *Lectures on Rom. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 35, note 3.

the plastic arts, and with the first beginnings of a perfect prose literature."

The architectural remains of Tiryns, Mycenae and Orchomenos, shew that in the very earliest times, of which we have no history, the Greeks built in a grand and gigantic style resembling that of the Egyptians; and there can be no doubt that this style of the art was imported from Egypt. In Greece, as in a portion of Italy, the walls were constructed of immense polygons. These walls, commonly called Cyclopean, are also termed Pelasgian, a designation which is by no means so absurd as many have attempted to make out, although it has been abused. Architecture is the first of all the arts which attained a kind of excellence and perfection; this is quite natural because it is the easiest; the materials can be easily procured, and invention only requires an external application of the imagination; but at first the grand and massive are naturally the things most aimed at. In like manner, the technical part and the use of the instruments are not of any very great difficulty; and, moreover, the Greeks did not require, in this respect, to invent anything, for the Egyptians and Phoenicians had preceded them, so that the Greeks had only to acquire the technical skill of their instructors, and that they actually did so acquire it, cannot be denied by their most ardent admirers. Nor does this detract from the greatness of their genius, which consists in something quite different, and is altogether unattainable by others. The Greeks might derive everything from barbarians, and yet whatever they produced was peculiarly their own.

"A critical history of Greek art would should, how late the Greeks commenced to practice the arts." We find in the history of all nations, that mechanical skill, even in early times, acquired a very high degree of development, when art itself produced as yet nothing but monstrosities. The present art of oil-painting is only the application of an old invention, which was probably made by the great John van Eyck, and I say it without any hesitation, that our modern art of painting, if we except a few kinds of lac, has no really beautiful colours which were not employed as early as the times of Cimabue and Giotto, when art was still completely in its infancy. If Raphael had

lived in the time of Cimabue, he would have used the same colours as he used afterwards; all the additions made by the school of Bologna were deteriorations. So also in antiquity; all the materials were known at an early time, but art was stagnating until the Persian wars. The Greeks knew indeed how to build, as in the middle ages great and splendid edifices were erected; though I cannot mention in Greece itself any building of that age which is historically certain, except the Olympieum and the temple of Delphi; but what gigantic buildings had already been erected in Asia Minor, Sicily, Agrigentum, and Italy! The thing wanting, just as in the middle ages, was, that they could not draw the figure of a living man. They could, indeed, draw dead or lifeless forms, and measure them strictly and accurately; but they could not produce life, and all attempts to represent man failed. A deformity in the hands, and a want of symmetry are visible, notwithstanding the greatest care. A crisis is brought about in such circumstances by a great genius coming forward and having the courage to conceive and represent the inner life and the developed living forms; such a genius did not exist in Greece before the Persian wars, any more than in modern times before the fourteenth century. In the latter case, however, Nicolaus of Pisa, who cannot be sufficiently admired, forms an exception as far as sculpture is concerned; but only because he had before him many ancient bas-reliefs, which he thoroughly studied for improvement in his own art. His figures are for the most part copies from those reliefs, and, therefore, antique. He knew that the art of drawing had been dead for a thousand years; its decay commenced in the third century; and he restored the symmetry of the parts of the human body, but not from his own observation of living men, but as an imitator of the reliefs of the ancients, which was sufficient for his purposes. In the painters of that time, consciousness was not yet awakened, "thought indeed existed, but they lacked the means of embodying it in the manner in which it was done by the old masters of the Venetian school, by Giotto and Cimabue." The other sculptors also were not more successful, until Donatello, or, more particularly, Michael Angelo, pointed out the right way. To this they were

led by imitation of ancient statues, and not by the study of nature. Such also was the case in Greece until the time of the Persian wars. But they had no such ancient works before them, which they might have imitated; they had to discover everything for themselves. They became what they are through nature, through the study of living nature. They invented the art of drawing, they comprehended and seized by inspiration the principle of human life, which constitutes beauty, and is the very soul of art; they then remained faithful to the thought they had once seized upon, and subsequently developed it further and further. "After the Persian wars, a new world opens at once," and from that time they advanced with gigantic strides. But everything that was produced before the Persian war—a few of those works are still extant—was, if we judge of it without prejudice, altogether barbarous. "What was the condition of Greek art before the Persian war, may be seen from the paintings on the ancient Greek vases, with which the statues correspond." All the paintings on vases, unless they are altogether barbarous, stiff, and full of bad proportions, cannot be considered to be much older than the Persian times. It is a great mistake to assign a work to a much earlier period, or even to an early one at all, merely because the figures are badly drawn and stiff. I believe, indeed, that works of this kind were produced at a very early period; but their character remained the same for centuries; and works that were make at the beginning of the Olympiads certainly did not differ from those produced immediately before the Persian war. Hence we cannot suppose that those which have come down to us are so very ancient; it is very possible that they may have been produced shortly before the Persian war; but the belief that the times of which we have contemporaneous productions of art, are very ancient, is one of those errors of which we cannot easily rid ourselves.

LECTURE XXXV.

Sculpture, in those times, consisted chiefly in founding brass figures, as was the case in the East; this art is mentioned as early as the building of the temple of Solomon, when it was practised by the Phoenicians. It appears much earlier than the working in marble; but both constitute the second stage in the development of sculpture, the first operation being that of moulding figures in clay, which presents no great mechanical difficulties. In the art of founding, all depends only on the first model, whereas in working in marble, the cutting the stone also requires skill. To work in marble is extremely difficult; the completed model must be reproduced out of the marble block, which is far more difficult than to make a copy in drawing, and to find the right way of doing it, must have been a work of immense labour. Hence the working in marble does not commence till a very late period. The earliest traces consist in rough hewing, and this may be very ancient; but the first indications of successful and fine workmanship are of a very late date, and it may be said, in general, that in ancient times marble was little used. But very much was done by the Greeks in ancient times in the art of carving in wood. Considering that brass was such an excellent material, we might almost wonder that marble came into use at all, were it not that marble could be painted over, for in the early times all marble sculptures were adorned with encaustic painting; as wood was painted, so the same colours were transferred to marble. This was the reason why marble came even to be preferred to brass; and for a time painted marble was more common than brass. Another step in advance taught the Greeks to relinquish the gaudy colouring as a disfigurement of the natural colour of the marble, and the pure and beautiful forms alone became the objects of the art. Marble was now preferred to brass, because its shades are more beautiful than those of brass, marble being more transparent, especially by torch-light, and the ancients often lighted up their marble statues in this manner.

As to the sciences, mathematics scarcely existed at all before the Persian wars. I do not mean to say that a number of problems had not been already solved, and their results practically applied in mechanics: but these results had been furnished to the Greeks by those nations who occupied themselves with mathematics. The Greeks obtained the results from abroad; but their own nature led them to reflect upon them, "not being satisfied with simply accepting that which was furnished by others." These reflections led to the scientific treatment of mathematics, which has come down to us. We must not imagine, that men like Thales and Pythagoras stopped short at such theorems as are ascribed to them. However mythical their names may be, it seems to be historical that, in their reflections on the subject, they arrived at a point where they began to work out the demonstrations of some theorems, of which the results were already known. Mathematics did not by any means arise as synthetically, step by step, as the science lies before us in the writings of the Greeks. As Newton in his discoveries in natural philosophy advanced, as it were, by sudden starts, and leaped over immense gaps, where he saw no connecting links, but intuitively proceeded from one truth to another across an abyss, over which subsequently a bridge was made—so at that time also attempts were made gradually to work out, in a scientific manner, the demonstrations of separate theorems, which had before been intuitively considered as correct. If it is true that even Thales knew how to calculate an eclipse of the sun before-hand, while at the same time the demonstration of the simple theory of the triangle is traced to him, we see at once what was the condition of mathematics in his time. The tradition certainly indicates that which in those times actually existed among the Greeks: the form of the science was still in its first infancy; but as regards the results and theorems, and their practical application, the age was already far advanced, though these results had been obtained from abroad, because the Egyptians and Babylonians had been practical observers for many centuries. But the Greeks discovered the scientific forms for themselves, and this was peculiarly their own.[1]

[1] This paragraph has been transferred to this place from the beginning of the Lecture.—Ed.

Everything was then in a state of development in Greece; everything was new, and entered into relations with actual life. We have to mention one other development of the Greek mind, I mean the philosophy of the Ionic school, which commenced about the thirtieth or fortieth Olympiad, and which in its origin was a kind of physiology, forming a continuation of the ancient theogony. It was developed especially in poems, and the transitions from the theogony to physiology cannot be mistaken.

Such was the condition of Greece at the time when Darius undertook his expedition against the Scythians, when he subdued Thrace, and when Macedonia paid homage to him. When he returned from his expedition, he left his brother Artaphernes behind him at Sardes as governor, with orders to extend the empire in the west as he himself intended to do in the east. The extension of the empire to India and Arabia belongs no doubt to the same time.

"The Persian empire thus seemed to extend irresistibly." The Greeks on the coast of Asia Minor were subject to the Persian dominion, and those on the continent of Europe were looking forward with apprehension to the time, when they too should not be able to escape from a similar fate. "Resistance seemed impossible, as notwithstanding the approaching danger, they were constantly distracted by internal wars." If at that time Artaphernes had on any tolerable terms demanded the submission of the Greeks in Europe, they evidently would not have ventured to refuse it; but he acted with barbarian insolence. The Athenians were already endeavouring to establish friendly relations with the governor, but they were treated with insolence, and being thus irritated they determined to let things come to the worst. The Persians, moreover, were awkward, and in their indolence they allowed that of which they felt sure, to be brought about slowly. This state of affairs, therefore, might have continued for a considerable time. But the more gradually the circumstances were developed, the more certainly would the matter have come to a decision, and Greece, by a peaceful transition would gradually have passed into the hands of the Persians, had not several events brought about a violent crisis. One of these was the unsuccessful attempt of the Persians to interfere in the affairs of the Cyclades against Naxos,

and the provocation offered to the tyrant of Miletus. Darius had allowed Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, to establish settlements on the Strymon for the purpose of making himself master of the treasures of the mines there. But those settlements soon excited the envy of the other Greeks, who tried to make him an object of suspicion to the Persian governor. The latter began to mistrust him, and under the pretext of the king's favour, Histiaeus was drawn to Susa, and kept there apparently as the friend and adviser of the king, but in reality as a prisoner; Darius partly mistrusted him, and partly treated him as his confidant. This situation made Histiaeus uneasy, he found himself ill-rewarded, and he disliked his want of freedom. However fabulous it may now appear, yet it is not improbable, that he caused the insurrection of the Ionians for the purpose of escaping from his situation; it does not look very unlike a Greek of that time, whom it concerned little whether he sacrificed his countrymen, if he did but gain his end. He may, however, have hoped that an insurrection might lead to some beneficial results; for the weakness of the Persian empire became manifest soon after, and what a person wishes, that he easily believes. In the year 1811, many sensible people in Germany believed, that it was only necessary to rise against Napoleon, for the princes of the Rhine, they thought, would at once join in the insurrection; but the events afterwards showed how differently matters stood. In like manner, Histiaeus may have hoped, that other subject nations also would rise. Aristagoras, the son-in-law of Histiaeus, had the command in Ionia, and incredible as it may seem that Histiaeus should have calculated upon being sent by the king against his own son-in-law, if an insurrection should break out, yet the circumstance has, in fact, nothing improbable; for Darius may have felt distrust towards him without any particular reason—a sort of half distrust—which he might easily overcome, when real difficulties arose from which he thought Histiaeus could extricate him.

But Aristagoras "had already fallen out with Artaphernes. A party in Naxos had solicited his assistance, and he had applied to Artaphernes and the king to embark in the undertaking.

But, as he wished to direct the whole affair, the Persians thwarted the expedition, and Aristagoras being exasperated by this, and insulted by the haughtiness of Artaphernes, had already conceived the idea of a revolt." He now actually stirred up the excitable Ionians by brilliant promises; he offered them political freedom; "he everywhere expelled the tyrants, and" soon the whole country rose in arms (Olymp. 70, 1). The consequence actually was, that Histiaeus, as he had anticipated, was sent by Darius into Ionia to restore peace.

"The relation in which the Ionians stood to Persia was indeed oppressive, but the yoke was not heavy. None of the towns were occupied by Persian troops, and they had only to pay tribute. Ionia was then in its greatest prosperity, a fact which is easily accounted for. As the countries, such as Phoenicia and others, from which Greek ships had formerly been excluded, were now united with Ionia by belonging to the same empire, the Ionians, no doubt, were easily admitted in all the ports under the Persian dominion. Hence the commerce with Egypt had much greater facilities under the Persians than under the Egyptian kings, and the sea was less infested by pirates. "If, notwithstanding all this, it was natural that the Ionians should wish to cast off their light yoke, the insurrection, nevertheless, had no basis; the wise advice of Hecataeus was despised, and the Ionians recklessly ventured upon the enterprise, which contains absolutely nothing that reflects honour upon the Greeks." The insurrection spread from the most southern towns in Lycia, from Phaselis to Chalcedon, at the mouth of the Bosporus, and the Greeks were joined by the Carians and Lycians, the former of whom were as much attached to liberty, and, at least, as brave and warlike as the Greeks. "The insurrection was thus tolerably extensive, but it was made without a definite plan of operation; there was no leading genius, and all the expectations of similar attempts on the part of the Lydians and other nations of Asia Minor, were disappointed. Aristagoras found himself obliged to seek assistance, and applied to the Greeks in Europe; first of all to Sparta, "because it asserted the possession of the supremacy in Greece (certainly no more than an empty name), and because its rulers were accessible to

bribery, which it would have been vain to expect at Athens." How much people, even at that time relied upon the unwarlike character of the Asiatics, and upon the weakness and vulnerability of the Persian empire, is clear from the fact, that Aristagoras proposed to King Cleomenes to lead a Spartan army to Susa. It is disgraceful that Cleomenes, "who was enterprising and successful in war, but was half a madman and unscrupulous, like most of the Spartans," yielded to the bribes of Aristagoras, and it is beautiful to find that his own child told him so; but although we commonly, and with justice, praise the child for her wisdom, still it is not certain that Aristagoras intended to sacrifice Cleomenes to his own purposes. He certainly hoped to be successful; and if Cleomenes had allowed himself to be bribed, the attempt would probably not have failed, for the Ionians had money, and the Spartans had everything else that was required. If the Ionians had only provided as much money as was necessary to lead the Spartans into Asia, and to engage a suitable number of Greek mercenaries, it is by no means improbable that an army, like that led into Asia by Agesilaus, would have roused the nations of Asia Minor, and that they might have advanced as far as Susa; nay it is not impossible that the Persian empire might have been overthrown as early as that time. It would have been just as possible as it was under Alexander. It would have been more difficult in some respects, but more easy in others; because, for some nations in Asia Minor, the war would then have been a national one, whereas, under Alexander, all nations remained passive. But this plan was frustrated; "and tempting as were the treasures, yet the undertaking was too bold for Cleomenes. He became angry with Aristagoras, and the latter was ordered to quit Sparta. He now applied to Athens for assistance, and found it among the people; not because it was easier to deceive thirty thousand men than a few Spartans, or because there is more wisdom in oligarchies than in democracies, but because an appeal made in a popular assembly to the noble feelings of human nature meets with a sympathetic response more easily than in an oligarchy. The Athenians were the only people in Hellas to whom Hellas was the κοινὴ πατρίς: they felt for all the Hellenes, even for the most

distant; nay, for the Dorians, who were their enemies. There Aristagoras might appeal to the heart and the feelings, and he called upon the Athenians to come to the rescue of their colonies. The Athenians obeyed their feelings and promised assistance." Thus they formed, indeed, the right determination; but it was not carried out in the manner in which it ought to have been. Things turned out as they usually do in democracies; the object was good, but the appropriate means were not chosen. Instead of an army of hoplites, which, strengthened by one of mercenaries, might have set all Asia in motion, the Athenians equipped an expedition of ships, together with their militia, a force which could not produce any results, and only provoked the Persians, without inflicting any wound upon them. "At all events, the Athenians committed a blunder in sending so few ships to this undertaking; had they sent a strong fleet, they might at least have driven the Phoenicians from those seas, whereby the expedition of Xerxes would have become impossible. But they sent only twenty ships. The Eretrians, from old gratitude for the assistance of the Milesians in their war with Chalcis, also sent succour."

The Athenians landed near Ephesus, "and the small band, joined by the Ionians and Eretrians," undertook an expedition against Sardes, by the taking of which they hoped to rouse the Lydians (Olymp. 70, 2). They succeeded in making themselves masters of the city, but could make no impression upon the citadel; and as the Lydians, contrary to the expectation of the insurgents, did not rise, they changed the city into a heap of ashes without deriving any advantage from it. The Greeks were then obliged to retreat, "and on their return the greater part were cut to pieces." The Athenians returned home, being in reality covered with shame and disgrace: they had destroyed a magnificent city, provoked the Persians without weakening them in the least, and only urged them to meditate revenge on Athens. The condition of the Ionians, however, remained unaltered, and the Athenians returned home as if they had done nothing whatsoever. "From Greece proper no further assistance was sent."

Meanwhile the Cyprians, with the exception of one town, had

revolted; and the first thing the Persians had to do was to try to recover the island, in order to keep up the communication with the Phoenicians. For the Cyprians had a considerable fleet, and rendered Cilicia and Phoenicia insecure. The Ionians sent them succour, and the two united fleets gained a victory over the Persians at sea; but, on land, the tyrant of Curion betrayed the Greeks; the Cyprians were completely defeated, and their towns were captured and laid waste one after another. Thence the Persians proceeded to the coast of Asia Minor." A great Persian army appeared, formed its plans without being hindered, and in the north and south it advanced towards the points from which it could most easily prevent a union of the allies. The Greeks were labouring under a great disadvantage, owing to the geographical position of their country. The extended line of coast offered no frontier which they might have defended against the approaching army; the country was narrow and everywhere open. The natural consequence was, that no compact contingents were formed, and every city thought only of defending its own walls. In a few engagements the Greeks were compelled to abandon the open field altogether, and to confine themselves entirely to their cities. The Carians defended themselves more skilfully and bravely; but their country afforded them advantages which the Greeks had not, it being a more compact country. They assembled on the frontier against the Persians; but they too were unsuccessful; after having offered a very gallant resistance, they were crushed in a pitched battle by the masses, and the Persians conquered one Carian town after another. Most of the Ionian cities now fell, one by one, "and so also the places on the Hellespont;" and all were treated with Asiatic cruelty. "The worthless Aristagoras, under these circumstances, fled to Thrace, and settled in the possessions of Histiaeus, on the Strymon, where he subsequently lost his life."

The survivors from the Ionian cities, under the protection of the islanders who were not yet threatened, assembled at Miletus. The Persians having now collected a fleet, threatened Miletus by land and by sea. Hitherto the Greeks had been masters of the sea, and the Phoenicians were not superior to them.

The important fleet of the Ionians now assembled at Miletus, near the island of Lade, at the entrance of the port. (Olymp. 71, 3.) "As the Maeander has pushed its mouth so far forward, Lade now forms a hill in a marshy district of pasture land. The more distant islands had sent no succour. Dionysius of Phocaea, a very able man, had now placed himself at the head of the fleet, and, for a time, succeeded in keeping the Ionians together." The Persians employed bribery, and all means of persuasion, for the purpose of dividing the fleet, and they succeeded in sowing discord among the commanders: a misfortune which has always happened when the contingents of small republics were assembled, as may be seen in the history of Switzerland. The discord generally arises from the formation of an opposition party: when all are equal, one or other is called on to command, which the rest will not concede. If one comes forward and claims the command, because he feels his ability, or if the command is offered to him, the men of mediocrity oppose it, saying, "We are all equal; and if you imagine that you are better than we are, we shall put a stop to your ambition." Thus treachery arises, often not from venality, but from envy and malice. Such also was the case at Lade. "The wealthy citizens of Miletus felt humbled by being obliged to obey a citizen of almost the smallest Ionian town; they withdrew from the guidance of Dionysius, and the consequence was a most fearful state of anarchy. The Samians allowed themselves to be persuaded by the Persians to separate from the common fleet. In these circumstances a naval engagement with the Persians ensued, and the Samians were the first that fled; they were followed by some other contingents of the allied cities, under the pretext that their own homes were in danger. Many of the others fought most bravely, as, for example, the Chians;" but they were completely defeated by the Phoenician galleys. Miletus was now besieged and taken by force. Its fate was terrible; after it had been stormed, its inhabitants were made slaves, or lost their lives by the sword. Most of the men were put to death, women and children were led into slavery, and the boys were mutilated. A portion of the survivors were transplanted to the interior of the Persian empire, just as the tribes of Israel had been carried

to Babylon. In order to re-people the city, a colony of the surrounding nations was established at Miletus, just as Mahomed II. acted after the taking of Constantinople, when, after several days had been spent in bloodshed, he recruited the inhabitants with Christian and Turkish colonists. In like manner Peter the Great, when building Petersburg, ordered inhabitants to be drafted from the ancient districts of his empire. There were no trades at Petersburg, and no supplies of provisions. Most of the people died during the first two years from want, and their places were supplied by others fetched from distant quarters. Those who were led as colonists to Miletus were not so badly off, for they had the excellent Milesian territory to support them. "The fate of most other Ionian cities was of a similar kind; it may, however, be doubted whether Chios, as might be inferred from the account of Herodotus, was treated in the same way, for, in the war against Xerxes, it appears as an independent place."

The destruction of Miletus is also important in the history of Greek literature. The Athenians had to reproach themselves for having done nothing for the Milesians, hence their conscience was severely smitten when the news of its fate arrived, and they seriously blamed themselves. When, therefore, the poet, Phrynichus, brought out the Ἅλωσις Μιλήτου as a tragedy, they felt it so painfully, that they inflicted a punishment upon him, for having dared to bring that calamity before their eyes. I believe the true reason was, that the tragedy represented to them their own inactivity; they surely cannot have been such Sybarites as not to be able to endure the recollection of their grief. This tragedy of Phrynichus is particularly remarkable, because it is so entirely opposed to the common notion of the regular Greek tragedy; for the capture of Miletus was, no doubt, still more an historical piece than the Persians of Aeschylus, resembling the Roman *praetextatae*, such as the Brutus of Accius, or the plays of Shakspeare, and without any regard to the unities of place and time.

The history of Greek tragedy begins simply with the choral odes, which are extremely ancient, and are a combination of song and dance, or a scenic song. We may assume it as an established fact, that even at an early time the chorus did not simply

chant a song; but the Greeks went a step farther, and at the celebration of a festival, *e. g.*, of Dionysus, subjects having reference to it were acted, and the chorus represented something different from what it really was; as, for example, when at a festival of Dionysus, a chorus of Athenian women represented the Theban Bacchantes tearing Pentheus to pieces. The χοροὶ τραγικοὶ even under this name are very ancient; Herodotus mentions them in the history of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, where they undoubtedly were such scenic choruses. Another step beyond this was easily made by the addition of a πρόλογος, a person coming forward and announcing to the audience what they were going to see and hear. I consider the prologue, the introduction for the information of the audience, as one of the most ancient characters of tragedy. The next thing added is the change ascribed to Thespis; a couple of persons are put in relation to the chorus and appear carrying on a dialogue. This development of Greek tragedy is entirely founded on the nature of the thing itself: and it is a necessary consequence of this that the earliest Greek tragedies could not exist without the unities of place and time. These were absolutely essential; for the chorus always remained before the spectators, and was the principal part. So long as this was the case, the Aristotelian form of tragedy was necessary. But into such dramas as the Capture of Miletus, the chorus could be introduced only by artificial means, and hence such pieces were no doubt rare exceptions in Greece. With the Romans, who had no chorus, the matter is different, and historical tragedy is natural. In all the pieces, which were not translations from the Greek, their freedom in tragedy is as natural to them as the more stringent forms were to the Greeks.

Comedy arose by the side of tragedy, no doubt as a parody of it, and hence its unbridled freedom; the more it partook of the nature of parody, the more occasion was there for unrestrained liberty. By this view of its origin alone can we account for the chorus in comedy; had it not originally been a parody, the chorus would be out of place in it; and hence it is also quite natural that the chorus could maintain itself in comedy as it did in tragedy.

LECTURE XXXVI.

We now come to that period which is the real subject of the history of Herodotus, and I shall first speak of him as an historian who recorded whatever he could learn about contemporary events, and not merely as a describer of countries and nations. In the former respect, too, there once prevailed a general misconception, which has been removed by what Dahlmann has written about the age of Herodotus. The question about the age of Herodotus has been completely and satisfactorily examined by Dahlmann, though I believe that he extends the life of the historian somewhat too long; but this is not of any material consequence. Although the passage in Gellius as well as what we read in Herodotus himself, is perfectly clear, yet the common opinion formerly was, that Herodotus lived quite close to the Persian war, or that he was nearly a contemporary of that event; nay, this opinion was so firmly rooted, that Mannert, an author who is not without merit, but still must be reckoned among the third or fourth rate historical scholars, unhesitatingly asserts that Herodotus was a contemporary of the Persian war, and imagines that the historian is the same person as the Herodotus mentioned among the ambassadors whom the Ionians, before their expedition, sent to Mycale. This is altogether erroneous. Herodotus came forward about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, though he may not have been quite a young man at that time, and his history was obviously written after the beginning of the war. I have shewn[1] that we may safely believe his work to have been written about Olymp. 90. If we calculate backward from that point, the dates mentioned by him as connected with the Persian war, agree quite well with it. Hence when Herodotus wrote, fifteen Olympiads, that is, sixty years, had passed away since the expedition of Xerxes, and seventy years since the battle of Marathon. Now, if before him no important historical work was written upon those events, pray consider

[1] See *Klein. Schrift.*, vol. i. p. 197.

what changes, during so long a period, may have taken place in a tradition which was not fixed by writing, and how many fabulous additions may have been made to it. It is well known that the account of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt has already assumed, in the mouth of the Egyptian Arabs, such a fabulous appearance that it might seem to have required a century to develop it; and instances of the same kind occur frequently. At a time when an occurrence engrosses the mind of everybody, the account of it undergoes incredible changes: events are transposed from an earlier to a later time, and *vice versa;* "we can scarcely form an idea of this vivacity and elasticity of traditions, because in our days everything is immediately put upon record."

The expedition of Xerxes had certainly been written about before the time of Herodotus; but by whom? By the poet Choerilus of Samos, about whom Naeke has written such an excellent work. That poet had related the expedition of Xerxes in the form of an heroic poem, and his work had, no doubt, great merits, but it was a poem, and composed with poetical freedom. A number of details in Herodotus must be referred to that poem. I regard Choerilus unhesitatingly as one of the authorities whom Herodotus had before him; and I believe that the poet's narrative greatly influenced the account of Herodotus. I attribute to him in particular the description of the nations in the army of Xerxes, and of their grotesque armour. That the poem of Choerilus, in imitation of the Βοιωτία, contained such a catalogue, in which the nations and their different kinds of armour were described, is certain, from a fragment quoted by Josephus in his work against Apion. The armour which Herodotus assigns to the several nations, is so strange, so incompatible with the character of the Asiatics, so far as we know it, that I am firmly convinced, that Herodotus here reduced the descriptions of Choerilus into prose. I need only refer you on this subject to the seventh book of Herodotus; what you there find cannot possibly be an historical narrative. The poet might very well describe such extraordinary and grotesque armour, for the whole of the motley Asiatic host appeared to him strange and monstrous. The influence of Choerilus upon

Herodotus is also confirmed by such accounts as that of the drying up of rivers by the Persian army, which is a perfect impossibility. This is one of those absurdities which may happen to any one; and into which especially a man may fall, who possesses a lively imagination like that of Herodotus: he is thinking of something that is quite correct, but expresses it in such a manner, that it becomes ridiculous. But my principal argument is the enumeration of the nations. In regard to the other points, it is possible that the Samian poet may have used the same authorities as the logographer of Halicarnassus; but the description of the armour is certainly the poet's own invention. We cannot, however, reverse our assertion so as to say that Choerilus followed the account of Herodotus, for the latter was certainly the younger of the two.

No reliance, therefore, can be placed upon this whole portion of the narrative of Herodotus; it is very different from his admirable descriptions of nations which he himself had seen and observed, and from several simple accounts of which he found trustworthy authorities, or which he relates after a genuine and honest tradition, *e. g.*, the accounts which he heard in Babylon, those about the Lydian kings, the Mermnadae, down to the fall of Croesus, which are very honest and true. The history of the Ionian insurrection is likewise true and certain. Plutarch, the Boeotian, in his work περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας, accuses him of κακοήθεια, that is, of malice, or the pleasure in relating something that causes pain to others, and he has a decided aversion against him. Plutarch was led to make this charge by his Boeotian patriotism; and it cannot be denied, that Herodotus hated the Boeotians. But if that is a crime, I willingly share it with him; I have no affection for Sparta, but yet I believe that it was the greatest misfortune for the prosperity of Greece that the Thebans, though their cause was just, obtained the ascendancy over Sparta, and acquired the supremacy. Plutarch's patriotism here is ridiculous, though it is by no means uncommon. When he wrote, fully six centuries had passed since the Persian war, and yet he felt a patriotism for the Boeotia of that distant time, such as a Florentine feels for the age of Dante! Plutarch's work is instructive, it contains

many particular facts, and ample materials for criticism; and many of the charges which he brings forward cannot be refuted.

There can be no doubt that Herodotus, in the case of some nations to which he felt an aversion, such as the Corinthians and Thebans, believed things, which on closer inspection he would have found to be false. But Plutarch's indignation against Herodotus is, nevertheless, very unfair.

In regard to the first expedition under Darius, the campaign of Datis, Herodotus' account agrees tolerably well with that of Ctesias. In reference to the other expedition of the Persians under Xerxes, he agrees with Ctesias about the occurrences at Thermopylae, and the victory of Salamis, the latter being, however, described by Ctesias as even more brilliant. But Ctesias strangely places the battle of Plataeae between those of Thermopylae and Salamis; and states that Delphi was plundered after the battle of Salamis. But on these points Herodotus is not at fault. I believe that here also Ctesias is not deserving of credit, although in the latter history of Persia we shall follow his guidance; for during that period we may trust him, as he could know the truth without much difficulty; and where we cannot trust him, we must entirely give up the history of Persia, at least as far as the interior of the empire is concerned; and all we can say is, that we know the names of the kings, for he is our only authority. But in regard to the Persian wars, we cannot place Ctesias above Herodotus. It is difficult to say whence these differences may have arisen; the most probable solution is, that Ctesias followed such Persian accounts as he, in the capacity of the king's physician, could hear, and that the confusion in the accounts of the events originally occurred in the Persian books. Wherever he draws from Greek sources, as in his account of the battle of Thermopylae, we recognise the man who was known to side with Sparta. Herodotus on the other hand, is with his whole soul in the interest of Athens; and at a time when there existed throughout Greece a prejudice against Athens, he loudly and openly declared that Athens had saved Greece: "I will say, that liberty proceeded from Athens; many will murmur, but I will say it, for it is true." This is a beauti-

ful feature in the character of Herodotus, which certainly does not contain any κακοήθεια.[2]

When the Ionians and the Greek coast of Asia Minor had been again subdued, and a more heavy yoke had been placed upon them than before, the Persians began to think of extending their empire. In the first place, however, the king meditated revenge for the expedition of the Eretrians and Athenians to Ionia; and orders were dispatched to the governor to chastise them, to apprehend them, and lead them as captives before the king's throne. This command was given to Datis. Now whether the Persian army consisted of 300,000 men, or whether it was much smaller, is a point which no one can seriously inquire into. It is in itself not at all impossible, that a countless host of ill-armed barbarians were defeated by a small band of well-equipped and warlike Greeks, as in India Lord Clive defeated 100,000 Indians with an army of no more than 1,500 near Plassey. In the latter case, the fire of cannons and guns was not unknown to the barbarians; they had the same themselves; but it was courage, determination, activity, and elasticity, that conquered them. The Persians were light-armed, without breastplates, with bad shields, bows and arrows, short spears, and without lances. The Persian sabre (ἀκινάκης) alone was superior to the Greek μάχειρα, the knife of the Albanese, with which the Greeks could not defend themselves against the ἀκινάκης. Against such masses, the Greeks advanced in close array, well armed, and provided with breastplates and long lances. This attack of compact and well-organised masses decided the contest. "But the plain of Marathon, which, besides the Eleusinian and Thriasian plains, is the only one that can be distinctly recognised in Attica, is not large enough to allow such an enormous army to

[2] "Charon of Lampsacus is also said to have written a work in two books on the Persian war. Vossius places him at too early a date; he must have lived after the war, though he was older than Herodotus. It is, however, not impossible that the work ascribed to him may have been a forgery of a later time; for innumerable forged books were manufactured in the Alexandrian period. Now, however, nothing decisive can be said about it. The Atthis of Hellanicus of Lesbos also embraced the Persian wars."—1826.

develop itself. We can, therefore, only say, that an immense host of barbarians were there defeated by Hellenic heroes.

Datis, with his fleet, sailed through the Cyclades (Olymp. 72, 3), towards Euboea, ravaging the islands as he passed by," and landed at Eretria. That city was no longer what it had been of old, when it disputed with Chalcis the sovereignty of the sea. It is a remarkable change to see a large and populous city sink from its height in the course of one generation; but this is natural in maritime towns, when commerce is transferred from one place to another. In like manner we see Pisa disappear and Genoa rising, and Naples rising while Amalfi falls; Amsterdam rose upon the ruin of Antwerp, and now Antwerp is rising while Amsterdam is sinking. Such also was the case of the Greek towns, and when Aegina was rising to prosperity, Eretria declined. The prosperity of Aegina was probably the consequence of the protracted wars between Chalcis and Eretria, for during that disturbed period commerce withdrew from those towns to Aegina. Eretria had nothing left but the recollection of its former greatness, and thereby had allowed itself to be induced to take part in the expedition to Ionia. But this interference was followed by terrible consequences for the town. When the Persians landed, "the Eretrians were divided in their opinions as to what they should do; they could not escape from the threatening danger, but nevertheless refused to submit, and thus they were left to their evil demon. The story of the generosity of the Eretrian, who persuaded the Athenian auxiliaries to go home and preserve themselves for their own country, is certainly not an invention." The Persians blockaded the town; "the attack lasted for seven days, and on the seventh they entered by treachery, which so often occurs in Greek history." The town was destroyed, and the whole population was led as slaves into Asia. But, as usually happens in that happy climate, and in so favourable a situation, the population soon became restored. About three centuries later, in the time of the war of the Romans against Philip, Eretria was again laid waste and plundered, and from that time it never revived again. At the period of the Peloponnesian war, Eretria was a small country town, though it seems to have been in

a flourishing condition. Athens, at the close of the seventeenth century, was quite desolate for a period of thirty years, and when Chandler, in 1770, visited it, the recollection of that period had already vanished, although the population had reassembled there only fifty years before. So quickly are even great events forgotten in oral tradition! I should not have known this fact, had I not found it in a small Greek chronicle.

"After this the Persians landed in Attica." The Athenians had anticipated the event, and were prepared; but it was in vain that they solicited the assistance of the other Hellones. The Spartans made, indeed, preparations to succour them, but, owing to their awkwardness, they lost the time and came too late; they requested the Athenians to defer the matter, declaring that they must wait till the full moon and celebrate a festival before they could take the field. Such motives are not unusual with the Spartans, "who prided themselves upon maintaining their superstitions: for this they consider to be observing the laws of Lycurgus, though in other and more essential points they violated them most frequently." Plutarch rejects this account as a piece of calumny, but without reason: Herodotus certainly did not calumniate here. The inhabitants of the little town of Plataeae, who, being oppressed by Thebes, always directed their eyes to Athens, were the only friends and allies of the Athenians; "they had at that time placed themselves entirely under the protection of Athens, where they were citizens without the franchise." The Athenians led out into the field all their men capable of bearing arms, as far as they could do so without leaving the walls of their city, which was then very small, unprotected; and they were commanded by the polemarch Callimachus and the generals. "The number of the Athenians is said to have been 10,000; but this number seems to me to have arisen out of a calculation according to the ten phylae of Cleisthenes, 1000 being assigned to each phyle. The number, however, cannot, at any rate, have been much larger, for Athens then was not very populous, and some must have remained behind in the city.

It fortunately happened that Miltiades was one of the ten generals. He was the grandson, or nephew, of a man of the

same name, who traced his family on the female side to Cypselus of Corinth, and belonged to a princely family, for a great many very illustrious families were then residing at Athens. The ancestor, or uncle, of the Marathonian Miltiades, had established an Athenian colony in Chersonesus in the time of Pisistratus and the Pisistratids; the accounts of the particulars of that event are confused, but the fact itself is beyond a doubt, and is evidently connected with the extension of the Athenians, under Pisistratus, in the countries of Thrace and the Propontis. It was the object of Pisistratus and his sons, to strengthen the power of Athens in those parts; and the emigration under Miltiades, which formed part of their scheme, met no doubt with their entire concurrence. The younger Miltiades, however, left those districts, and soon after Darius' expedition against the Scythians, he returned to Athens. This he did, it is said, because he had been one of those Greeks who had advised the Ionians to break down the bridge on the Danube, in order to prevent Darius returning, and to shake off the yoke of Persia: an advice to which the selfishness of the tyrants refused to listen. For this reason then Miltiades went to Attica. The statement that previously he conquered Lemnos for Athens, is very doubtful; this event too, in my opinion, belongs to the time when the colony was dependent on the Pisistratids, and is connected with their schemes. Hippias was in the army of the Persians, and the Persian commander intended to restore him at Athens as a vassal of the great king.

"The Persians had landed at the plain of Marathon, and there a battle was fought." The battle of Marathon is as certain as any of the great events of modern times, which have decided the fate of the world. There can be no doubt that the Persians were completely defeated, and were glad to escape to their ships and return to Asia, "with the captured Eretrians." But the particulars of the battle are uncertain; most of them resemble the well-known deed of Cynegirus, who madly seized a Persian galley and wanted to hold it back. All this is poetical, and may serve to rejoice and warm us, but we cannot take it as history. "The Greeks were drawn up as a phalanx, in which each phyle occupied an equal part of the front, with more or

less depth, from eight to fifteen men. Now, if we suppose that in the battle of Marathon the Athenians were drawn up ten men deep, we have a front of 1,000 men. With such a front, opposed to an army of 300,000 men, the wings of the Greeks are said to have gained the victory; their centre is said to have been broken through by the Persians, and the victorious wings on both sides to have crushed the hosts of barbarians. This is the account of a poet, who does not think of mathematical proportions; such also is the case in the Iliad, and similar stories occur in the very heart of history. The poets of popular and martial ballads did not dream of giving a military report. The statement, however, that 6,000 Persians were slain, and only 192 Athenians, is more credible. Another account estimates the number of the Persians who fell in the battle at 200,000." Even at the present day the plain of Marathon is marked by the mounds, under which the bodies of the barbarians were buried, "and the Athenians who fell on that day, probably rest under the same, for it does not seem that the fallen heroes were at that early time buried in the Ceramicus." That plain is the charnel-house of Murten for Greece. When happier days shall fall to the lot of Hellas, that hallowed battle-field too will be examined, and will yield a rich harvest. "Many things used in the battle have already been dug out of the ground; there have been found near Marathon, leaden balls thrown by slingers with the inscription ΔΕΧΟΥ," points of arrows made of stone, which must have been fastened on reeds, and consequently have been used by very uncivilised people; but others are of brass and copper, and there can be no doubt that these things were used in the battle of Marathon. How many glorious things are there that still require to be investigated!

The day of Marathon, Olymp. 72, 3, raised Athens to a point of greatness from which it had before been very far removed. It is not sufficiently acknowledged that Athens is indebted to the Pisistratids for the first impulse to its great development; but afterwards the excitement called forth by great events carried on that development. The struggles which then followed, the exertions with which the Athenians freed themselves, first from the Pisistratids, and afterwards from Cleomenes and

Isagoras, then the establishment of a free constitution on a broad basis, which Athens owed to Cleisthenes—all this contributed to raise the spirit of her citizens, and to awaken the energies of life. In this sense, Herodotus is quite right in saying that the ἰσηγορία was the source of the greatness of Athens; but we will not forget, that Pisistratus was a middle link which was necessary to lead the state from the age of oligarchy to that of freedom. Soon after the yoke of the Pisistratids was thrown off, Athens overcame the united efforts of the Chalcidians and Thebans, who attempted to restore the Pisistratids in order to humble Athens. Those were glorious days. Chalcis was then still very prosperous, and it fell on that one day, on which the flower of its knights (ἱππῆς) were slain or taken prisoners, and when the town surrendered to Athens, which sent Cleruchi into its territory. From that time Chalcis never recovered its former greatness. The circumference of the town is stated to have been seventy stadia; this may be an exaggeration, but it was certainly very large. Afterwards it did not fill that space, just as Pisa and Ispahan occupy only a portion of the space within their walls; so that in the Macedonian time the town was not able to guard its walls with a sufficient number of posts; it was a small open town situated in a large district surrounded by walls.

But now the πολιτεία of Themistocles began. During this period chronology is in great confusion, as unfortunately we do not possess Ephorus, and thus we do not know at what time his πολιτεία commenced. I believe that its beginning must be assigned to an earlier time than is usually done, and that he had a considerable influence at Athens even before the day of Marathon. The conquest of Aegina does not appear to fall between the battle of Marathon and that of Salamis, but must have taken place before. Athens was now safe against all danger, for it possessed a great man, and its citizens showed much sound common sense, in as much as each did not pretend to be wiser than the other, but gave themselves up with full confidence to the one who was more intelligent than all the others.

LECTURE XXXVII.

THEMISTOCLES, who decided the fate of Greece, has not, since the revival of letters, appeared in that light of historical importance in which other great characters of Greek history are presented to us, and which is his due; and such, perhaps, is still his fate; he is certainly not regarded as an historical character of the class to which Pericles and Demosthenes belong. This is not an accusation which I aim at others for the purpose of raising myself; but how it happens that for us, Themistocles belongs to the class of the vague characters of a pre-historic period, is a point for which it is not easy to account, more especially seeing that the Persian war is commonly regarded in a far more strictly historical light than I can admit. The cause, perhaps, is a feeling that several of the details of his life are less historical than those in the lives of Pericles and Demosthenes. But this makes it all the more incumbent upon us, to bring him forward, and assign to him his place in our history as a very extraordinary man, who has few equals in either ancient or modern times. He belonged to a very noble family; his youth fell in the time when the reforms of Cleisthenes had already been got over, when the agitations of the oligarchs had ceased, and when quiet political discussion had succeeded in its place; and he came forward at an early age. At that time the old parties had decidedly given up their ancient claims. Matters were different from what they were at Rome; but it must not be forgotten that at Athens the change had been brought about gradually, and that the struggle had not been as violent as at Rome, which had been obliged itself to find the remedy for its own disease; at Athens, on the other hand, a mediation had taken place, by which it had been assisted in its contest against the folly and unfairness of its rulers; an external power had existed long enough to subdue the agitation, and there now existed a generation which aimed at superiority through its own worth. This was the time at which Themistocles came forward with his great personal qualities, which Thucydides, who dwells upon him with particular admiration,

praises so highly. According to that historian's accounts, he had the keenest power of perceiving what was right and necessary, sagacity to find the means, perseverance in carrying out his plans, and an inexhaustible power of invention and of adapting his means to his purposes. He was a statesman in the highest degree practical, and an excellent patriot; Athens was to him everything; and he was conscious of the greatness which his country was destined to attain, and to which he could raise it. He was the very man whom Athens then stood in need of, and if he had not appeared, great misfortunes would have befallen the state.

It was by his advice that the Athenians, even before the Persian war, extended and fortified their harbour, and applied the ample revenue from their silver mines to the building of a fleet. This is one of those actions, in which the generous sentiments of the Athenian people are manifested; they might have distributed the tithe of the produce among themselves; but on the advice of Themistocles they readily sacrificed it, although the majority of the people were extremely poor, to the building of a fleet for the defence of their country. This is not the only time that the Athenian people acted with such noble generosity. Such was the people in the time of Themistocles and Pericles; and when great things were to be done, there was no need of any one giving the command; all that was required, was some superior mind who knew how to awaken the noble sentiments of which the Athenians were susceptible, and to point out what was right and necessary.

According to the current account, Themistocles was rivalled by the honest Aristides, who, according to the common view, stands to Themistocles in the relation in which a virtuous man stands to an adroit and clever person, in whom, from this very circumstance, we hardly recognise any virtue, and whom we almost regard as a sinner. But the real cause of this view is the extraordinary and surpassing greatness of Themistocles, which called forth envy. In like manner, according to the notion that τὸ θεῖον φθονερόν ἐστι, the gods themselves looked upon the happiness of Polycrates with envious eyes, and, according to the polytheistic notions of the Greeks, such a feeling is quite natural; for the

gods are aristocrats, and they look upon the aspirations of mortals as something presumptuous. This is one of the necessary consequences of polytheism. Such a φθόνος pervades the whole domain of history, in the contemplation of the present as well as in that of the past. That which is great and excellent is oppressive to the mind, even when merely conceived—I do not mean to say that it is so to us, but it is so to the mass of mankind—and in order to get rid of that oppressive feeling, men endeavour to drag down a great man to their own level, by discovering sometimes this and sometimes that weakness or error in him. It is for this purpose of dragging down men of eminence, and not from a genuine admiration of virtue, that mean persons pretend to give the preference to upright men, whose purity of heart they admire, not indeed unjustly, but too exclusively, although men of eminence also are not wanting in purity of heart. The saying of Horace, "*Virtutem incolumem odimus, sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi,*" is but rarely true; on the contrary, even after death, uprightness and goodness without genius are preferred, as if they alone were free from blemish, and people, who have themselves no claims to purity, take a pleasure in admiring virtue when it is not supported by mental greatness. This envy has had great influence in forming the opinions entertained about Themistocles and Aristides. Let no one impute to me the wish to deprive Aristides of his crown of glory; I believe all the good that is said of him, and I believe that his virtue deserves, to the fullest extent, the veneration paid to him by the ancients; but when he is put in opposition to Themistocles, as is universally done, so that the contrast is produced at the cost of the great man, I must protest against it, for Themistocles was the greater. The life of Aristides was invaluable to his friends, and to all who saw him and knew the purity of his heart; but Themistocles did infinitely more for the deliverance of his country, and for its greatness. The common notion, that Aristides was poor, is erroneous; even Demetrius Phalereus justly observed, that he could not possibly have been poor, because he was ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος, and consequently belonged to the πενταχοσιομέδιμνοι, for the archonship, at that time, was accessible only to πενταχοσιομέδιμνοι, who were eupatrids. The whole notion

of his poverty arises from the fact, that, after his death, the republic gave to his daughter a dowry. But this is the same case as that of the public funerals of illustrious Romans, as, for example, of Valerius Publicola. Here, too, it has been inferred, that they must have been extremely poor, because sometimes the plebs alone, and sometimes both the plebs and the curiae contributed to pay the expenses of their funerals; modern writers even go further, and imagine that Valerius Publicola died as it were in a public hospital. Such a collection, however, was no trifling matter, for a great Roman funeral was very expensive; and when the patres and the plebs paid for it, they paid a homage to the dead which saved his heirs a vast expense. In the case of Valerius Publicola, moreover, it is overlooked, that the gentes were bound to pay the funeral expenses, and that accordingly, the Valeria gens would have been obliged to pay for it. Such also was the case at Athens. What greater honour could have been shown to the dead than this?

These two men certainly stood in an ἀντιπολιτεία to one another, and their opinions must have been of an opposite nature. Aristides may, in opposition to Themistocles, have been on the side of the aristocracy; some isolated allusions to this actually occur, but we know only the general fact, and cannot ascertain on what particular occasions this opposition between them was manifested. Themistocles, who was as noble as Aristides, perhaps even more noble, and avowedly wealthy, openly and honestly attached himself to the people, hoping to find with them the support which he required for his plans; he felt sure that the people would multiply his strength. At that time there existed at Athens the same law which, in the middle ages, and especially in Italy, gave the people the right to banish influential persons, who raised themselves above their fellow-citizens, without their being guilty of any particular crime. This law occurs in the statutes of several Italian cities during the middle ages; the statutes of Tivoli, for example, which I have discovered, conferred upon the city the right to expel a citizen, though he was not a criminal, if his presence was deemed dangerous.[1] This

[1] Niebuhr probably alludes to the following passage in the *Statuta et Reformationes Civitatis Tiburis:* "Item statuimus, quod Comes Caput mi-

was also the ancient Greek law. It cannot be denied that it was harsh; but in small republics, where it was so easy to create a revolution, it was certainly a beneficial regulation; and it is just one of the painful conditions on which the advantages of small republics are based. By this law Aristides was exiled, by ostracism, for a period of ten years, because the people distrusted him, because he was personally so eminent that he was deemed dangerous. It must, however, be observed, that such a banishment was probably not accompanied by any loss of property or honour, but that it was in reality, a distinction, though an unenviable one. When the term had expired, the exile was at liberty to return; it being thought, that after the lapse of ten years, the circumstances in which he could be dangerous might, perhaps, be altered; he had become unimportant.

Such was Athens under Themistocles: it was a state in the full vigour of life, constantly preparing itself, not against the Aeginetans, but for the Persian war, which it was anticipating, and which did come.

"The unjust expedition of Miltiades against Paros, which he undertook for the sake of levying contributions, occurred in the interval between the first and second Persian war, immediately after the battle of Marathon. It failed, however, and the Cyclades remained open to the Persians."

The last days of Darius were clouded by the disaster of Marathon; "that battle formed the turning point of his good fortune," and it would seem that the news of it led to several

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litiae vel sedialis et quilibet ipsorum possint et potestatem habeant expellendi cives Tiburis et incolas et eos confinandi intra et extra civitatem inobedientes pro rixis sedandis *antequam perveniant ad rixam* et in ipsa rixa et post ipsam rixam per unam dietam a longe a dicta civitate et contrafacientibus et inobedientibus possint poenam et mulctam inponere et auferre, prout in tertio superiori capite continetur, alias expellere aliquem non possit nisi in Casibus in quibus ei in hoc statutorum volumine sit concessum." Lib. i. cap. 6, sub rubr. Quod Comes Caput militiae et sedialis possint expellere pro rixis non faciendis. No other passage of this kind is to be found. Concerning these statutes, see *Lebensnachrichten*, vol. ii. p. 402. A copy of them is found in Niebuhr's library.—Ed.

insurrections, particularly that of Egypt; but they were soon put down. Darius died (Olymp. 73, 3), and Xerxes, who succeeded him, was prevented from taking revenge on the Athenians by the revolt of Egypt, which engaged his attention during the first years of his reign. But he completely conquered the insurgents after they had maintained themselves about four or five years; and he then made preparations for that vengeance on Athens for which his barbarian pride was longing. The account of the three years' preparations of Xerxes, how he assembled his army in Asia Minor, how he made a bridge across the Hellespont, how he cut a canal through the isthmus of Mount Athos to prevent his fleet being destroyed by storms—all this is known to every one who has read Herodotus. History is here so much interwoven with poetry, that they can no longer be separated. The bridge across the Hellespont cannot be doubted any more than that of Mandrocles across the Bosporus; and great as are the difficulties of such a bridge, yet it is possible, and in the manner in which Herodotus describes it, it can be constructed. But after all the current of the waters tore it to pieces. But Mount Athos assuredly was not cut through; it seems inconceivable why he should have done so, although the Greeks themselves state, that even in later times traces were visible near Sane. I cannot, however, understand the object in doing so, for besides Athos there were many other promontories dangerous to navigation. It is of course impossible for us to test the statement, that the army of Xerxes consisted of 1,700,000 men; if such an enormous force had actually come to Greece, I cannot understand how, for example, when they were in Thessaly, and removed from the sea, they could have subsisted even for a few days: not that the rivers of Thessaly could have been drained, but whence could they have obtained the necessary food? "I have already remarked that we cannot take the enumeration of the forces and the account of their arms as historical; even an Oriental sultan is incapable of such nonsense as to order people to come from a distance of thousands of miles, and to drag them to Greece with scarcely any arms. The numbers of the fleet do not seem to be exaggerated, for the Phoenicians, Cilicians, and Ionians, were obliged to put their ships

at the king's disposal. It must have been enormous, accompanied as it was by numberless transports, and it constituted the main strength of the Persian expedition."

The Greeks awaited the attack (Olymp. 75, 1), "but they were not agreed among themselves. The Argives from hatred of Sparta joined the Persians, and the miserable Boeotians likewise supported them. The others kept together only from necessity; and without the noble spirit of the Athenians Greece would have been lost, and that from the most paltry circumstances. A dispute arose as to who was to be honoured with the supreme command; the Athenians gave way to all, for their only desire was to save Greece. Had the Persians moved on rapidly, they would have met with no resistance, but they proceeded slowly, and matters turned out differently." A Greek army was encamped at Tempe, at the entrance of Thessaly, and at first determined on defending Thessaly. But they must have seen that they could be entirely surrounded from Upper Thessaly; and when they thus discovered the impossibility of stopping the Persians, they retreated. The narrative now contains one inconceivable circumstance after another. It is indeed quite conceivable that the Thessalians who now submitted to the Persian king, having become his subjects, were not annihilated; for the Persians did not carry on internecine war, except in cases of rebellion; they did not act like the Turks, who in early times were bent upon destroying all those with whom they came in contact. The Persians, like modern conquerors, rather endeavoured to extend their empire; they wanted to conquer new countries, and acquire new subjects to pay them tribute. Their object was not destruction, as was that of the Gauls in their expedition against Delphi, or of the Mongols under Jenghis Khan, whose delight was destruction, and from whom the Turks, perhaps, inherited that delight. But it is inconceivable that, as the Greeks did make a stand at Thermopylae, no one else took his position there except King Leonidas and his Spartans, not including even the Lacedaemonians, for they remained at home! Only 1,000 Phocians occupied the heights, though that people might surely have furnished 10,000 men; 400 of the Boeotians were posted in the rear, as a sort of host-

ages, as Herodotus remarks, and 700 Thespians. Where were all the rest of the Greeks? Not one Athenian is found there; a number of them, it is true, manned the fleet, but not all of them; and why were not the others at Thermopylae? why was not Leonidas joined by the other nations of Peloponnesus, such as Arcadians and Eleans? The Argives, we know, would not move, because they were negociating with the Persians. To these questions there is no answer; and all we can say is, that here, as so often in human life, things happen which are quite inconceivable and irrational. Countless hosts are invading Greece; the Greeks want to defend themselves, and are making active preparations at sea; but on land hundreds of thousands are met by a small band of Peloponnesians, 700 Thespians, 400 Thebans as hostages, and 1,000 Phocians, stationed on the heights! A pass is occupied, but only that one, and the others are left unguarded; for the roads to the Doric tetrapolis and to Aetolia were open, and even if the Persians had not become acquainted with the pass betrayed to them by Ephialtes, they might without any hindrance have proceeded to Delphi, and by this round-about way they might have reached the rear of the Greeks without any resistance! All this is quite unintelligible; it would almost appear as if there had been an intention to sacrifice Leonidas and his men; but we cannot suppose this. These circumstances alone suggest to us, that the numbers of the Persian army cannot have been as great as they are described; but even if we reduce them to an immense extent, it still remains inconceivable why they were not opposed by greater numbers of the Greeks, for as afterwards they ventured to attack the Persians in the open field, it was certainly much more natural to oppose them while marching across the hills. But however this may be, it is an undoubted fact, that Leonidas and his Spartans fell in the contest, of which we may form a conception from the description of Herodotus, when after a resistance of three days they were surrounded by the Persians. A few of the Spartans escaped on very excusable grounds, but they were so generally despised, that their life became unendurable, and they made away with themselves. This is certainly historical. There can be no doubt that along with the

Spartans the Helots also fell, though no one speaks of them; "the inscription mentions 4,000 Peloponnesians as having fought there, but the proud oligarchs did not include the Helots." The 700 Thespians who would not abandon Leonidas, also fell, and these too have not received from posterity the honour that is due to their memory. Thus we have here an example of the manner in which the same act is viewed in one light for one party engaged in it, and in another light for others: the deeds of the one are forgotten, and those of the others are held in everlasting remembrance.

After the victory at Thermopylae all Hellas lay open before the Persians, and they now advanced towards Athens, a distance which they could march in a few days. Thebes opened her gates, and joyfully admitted them from hatred of Athens. "Meantime a portion of the army appeared before Delphi. It is almost inconceivable that the Persians did not succeed in taking the temple; it is true it was situated on Parnassus and was difficult of access, but we should imagine that its treasures would have exercised their power of attraction so as to draw the Persians even higher up; and if the army of Xerxes had actually been so enormous as it is described, he might have sent thither hundreds of thousands after hundreds of thousands. The miracles by which the temple is said to have been saved, are repeated in the same manner during the attack of the Gauls. But the temple of Delphi was certainly not plundered, as is proved by the fact, that afterwards it still contained so many of the ancient presents bestowed upon it, which the Persians assuredly would have carried away. Ctesias' account of the taking of the town must be wholly rejected." The city of Athens had in the meantime been abandoned by all the people; the defenceless had taken refuge in the small island of Salamis, or at Troezen, "and all the Athenians capable of bearing arms embarked in the fleet. The city could not have maintained itself on account of the weakness of its fortifications, and the small number of Athenians would not have sufficed to man the fleet and at the same time to defend the city." The Persians thus took Athens without any resistance.

While Athens was given up to the enemy, the Greek fleet had

assembled in the waters between Thessaly, Sciathos and Halonnesus. "It seems unaccountable why the Persian fleet did not immediately sail round Euboea; but they probably feared storms in the dangerous part of the sea to the south of Euboea; had they sailed round, they would have been in Phalerus before the Greeks could oppose them there. During the same days on which the battle of Thermopylae was fought," the Greek fleet was engaged in two indecisive but glorious battles near the promontory of Artemisium. "In a third the Persians gained the upper hand, and when the Greeks at the same time heard of the defeat at Thermopylae, they withdrew, and doubling cape Sunium sailed towards Salamis." God sent them a storm whereby the Persians in their pursuit suffered shipwreck. Although those engagements were not real victories, yet they were most encouraging, and the foundation of the final victory was laid at Artemisium. Even Pindar truly sang—

. . . παῖδες Ἀθαναίων ἐβάλοντο φαεννὰν
χρηπίδ' ἐλευθερίας . . .[2]

The Greeks had come to the conviction that although the fleet of the Persians consisted of elements very different from their land forces, and although the Phoenicians were as good sailors as themselves, nay, probably superior, they yet might offer a successful resistance, because they fought for their freedom and their country, and because they were inspired by patriotism; while the former engaged in the contest only because they were compelled.

Throughout the course of these events, there are questions which we cannot solve. When I separate that which is fictitious, and transport myself to the time of the events, there remains little in the whole narrative that is possible. What miracle prevented the Persians, who had come with such an immense fleet of galleys, from sending a squadron to Peloponnesus for the purpose of ravaging and subduing it? How was it possible for the enormous hosts of Persians to be so timid that they did not venture to come forward anywhere? Why did they stand everywhere, as if they were paralysed by some magic fear? How did it happen that they did not advance even as far as

[2] Plut. *Themist.* 8: or *Fragm.* 196, ed. Boeckh.

Eleusis? That town remained in the hands of the Greeks, though it was scarcely twenty miles from Athens and the Persian cavalry did not advance farther than the Rharian or Thriasian plain. How is it possible that they did not even attempt to advance towards Megara? How was it possible for the whole population of Athens to be conveyed to the small island of Salamis and to Troezen, and how did they obtain the means of subsistence? All this is to me perfectly inconceivable. The cause must, in a great measure, consist in the fact that Herodotus wrote down his account sixty years after the events, and that he wrote it such as it was then current, and as he heard it. "He even delighted in describing the war in the manner in which it appeared in the traditions; and he composed an ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν, as Thucydides calls it. Many points also may be explained by the circumstance that he did not live much at Athens." If we had Ephorus, we should undoubtedly find a more intelligible account at least of some of the occurrences.

LECTURE XXXVIII.

I WILL add a few more examples, to show that the history which, in our early years, we have regarded as so perfectly authentic, is untenable; and that a portion of it is miraculous and impossible, and bears the character of a mere popular tradition. One of them is a beautiful miraculous story which is related in two different ways, by which we see that it was current among the people. While Xerxes was at Athens, Demaratus and another Greek are said to have heard, in the Thriasian plain, the Bacchic sound of a great procession coming from Eleusis, and to have seen an immense cloud of dust, as if a great multitude had been marching towards the sea. The same miracle appears, in another tradition, in a somewhat different light; for it is said to have happened on the day of

the battle of Salamis, and the sound heard is described as that of the gods proceeding from Eleusis to Salamis to assist the Greeks in their struggle. This wonderful story was evidently a tradition current among the people. Another tradition is not, indeed, miraculous, but shows the existence of two different reports of the same thing. When the Athenians were summoned to do homage to the king, Cyrsilus, one of the *buleutae*, is said to have advised his fellow-citizens to comply with the command, and to have been stoned for this, together with his wife and children. This occurrence which is said by some to have happened before the Athenians quitted the city, is placed by others after the battle of Salamis: "they were yet to humble themselves before the great king." Here we again have a living tradition. The story of which the Macedonians boasted, when they said, that they had destroyed the army of the Persians, or at least the greater part of it, during its retreat, and that Alexander, king of Macedonia, was on that account rewarded by the Athenians, and acquired so great an influence over their minds—this story is unknown to Herodotus, and is assuredly one of those pieces of vanity which we so often meet with in ancient history. Another story, which is a great favourite with the rhetoricians, but is mentioned also by Demosthenes, entirely floats in the air, although it must refer to a fact, as there existed a *psephisma* about it; namely, that Arthmius of Zeleia, in Phrygia, who must have been an Athenian citizen, was punished with *atimia* for having distributed the gold of the barbarians among the Greeks. Others state that he was condemned for having carried the money, which the barbarians placed at his disposal, into other cities, and not to Athens, where good use might have been made of it. The same story, a little modified, is also referred to the time of Themistocles. You see how cautious we must be in regard to all these tales; and I might produce many more, to show how far we are from being able to consider the accounts of that period as authentic history. But we will not pursue any further the examination of unaccountable statements in this part of our history.

While the Greek fleet was stationed in the channel between the island of Salamis and Attica, towards Piraeeus, discord

broke out among the Greeks. The Peloponnesians thought only of themselves; they had fortified the Isthmus: there they were assembled, and there they wanted to offer resistance to the Persians. In their folly they forgot, that if the enemy, with his superior fleet, should turn against Peloponnesus, they might land wherever they liked, and that the fortifications of the Isthmus would then afford no protection. It may be, that, to such an objection, they would have answered, that in that case they would have dispatched a detachment from the Isthmus to meet the enemy; but it is not mentioned anywhere that such an answer was given. The probability is, that they were so short-sighted as to believe that the object of the Persian expedition was only to chastise Athens, and that the king would be satisfied with so doing; but if not, that they would be able to maintain themselves behind the walls on the Isthmus. "When therefore Xerxes had taken Athens, the Peloponnesians at Salamis thought only of the Isthmus, and tumultuously desired to proceed to Peloponnesus: they demanded everything from Athens, but were unwilling to give anything." But Themistocles now declared, that all the hopes of the Athenians were directed towards the recovery of their city; that, if the Peloponnesians should sacrifice them, and, thinking of themselves only, should abandon Attica to the barbarians, the Athenians would not be so childish as to sacrifice themselves for them, but would take their women and children on board their ships, and sail far away from the Persians to the island of Sardinia, or some other place where Greek colonies were established; that there they would settle as a free people, and abandon Peloponnesus to its fate; and that then the peninsula would soon be in the hands of the enemy. This frightened the Peloponnesians, and they resolved to stand by Athens. It is evident that, throughout that time, Themistocles had to struggle with the most intolerable difficulties, which the allies placed in his way, as well as with their jealousy, meanness, and insolence. "The rudeness of the Spartans and Corinthians is nowhere more strongly contrasted with the refinement of the Athenians, than on that occasion." But after he had tried everything, and overcome by every possible means a hundred different difficulties, he yet saw, that he could not rely on the

perseverance of the Peloponnesians, and that they would turn to the Isthmus as soon as Xerxes should proceed in that direction. He accordingly induced the Persian king, by a false message, to surround the Greek fleet, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the Peloponnesians. He declared himself ready to deliver the whole of the Greek fleet into his hands. This device was quite to the mind of the Persians; Xerxes believed him, and followed his advice. When Themistocles was thus sure of the Peloponnesians, the ever-memorable battle of Salamis commenced, which is as certainly historical as that of Cannae, or any modern battle, "whatever the numbers may be." The battle proceeded in a manner somewhat like the battle of Leipzig: when the issue was decided, a portion of those who ought to have joined their countrymen before, made common cause with the Greeks; but it was done at a moment when it was no longer honourable to desert the standards. But, whatever we may think of them, their accession increased the victory of the Greeks and the loss of the Persian fleet, the greater part of which was destroyed, "and the rest retreated towards the coast of Asia Minor."

Certain as the battle of Salamis is, all the accounts of what took place after it, are very doubtful. This much is certain, that Xerxes returned, "leaving a portion of his army under Mardonius in Greece;" but whether he fled in quite as miserable a plight as that described by the poet in the Persians, is highly uncertain. He would then have escaped as Napoleon did, who fled from Russia in a sledge in the greatest haste, leaving his army behind him; the latter, however, did so in order immediately to levy a fresh army, whereas Xerxes neglected everything. The statement that the Persian escaped in a fisherman's boat, can, I think, be regarded only as an exaggeration, in which the conquerors indulged in describing their victory. If he actually did cross the Hellespont in a boat, it was only because the bridge had been destroyed by storms. But his enormous army disappeared, except that portion which he left behind under Mardonius. It is not stated anywhere (?) that the bulk of the army returned, though it ought to have returned, if it had existed. But the truth probably is, that, if we except his guards, Xerxes had not brought many more troops with him to Greece than

those who afterwards fought under Mardonius at Plataeae: the rest is exaggeration. Xerxes returned to Sardes, and his empire does not seem to have suffered much from the severe shock. Egypt alone revolted, in consequence of the complete incompatibility of the Persians and Egyptians.

Winter was now approaching, and Mardonius withdrew from ravaged Attica, taking up his winter-quarters partly in Thessaly and partly in Boeotia. It seems inconceivable that the Athenians should have returned to Attica. It is indeed manifest that Attica when Xerxes quitted it, was not so completely devastated as afterwards, "and the simple houses of the Athenians could easily be restored;" but the probability is, that the Athenians remained the winter in Salamis in sheds, or under the open sky. Mardonius offered to restore to them Attica uninjured, so far as it had not already been devastated, if they would conclude peace with him. They might at that time have obtained any terms they pleased, if they had abandoned the common cause of the Greeks; and the Persians would have kept the peace; for when they concluded treaties they observed them: they were not faithless barbarians. But on this occasion again, we see the Athenian people in all its greatness and excellence; it scorned such a peace, and preferred the good of the Peloponnesians. After having learned by experience that the Peloponnesians would do nothing for them, and although they must have known that the Spartans aimed at the destruction of Athens, they not only did not take revenge, but remained faithful to the common cause. Nothing is more noble than to see a people remaining faithful to its allies, although it knows that they are dishonest. I might here mention other examples, which do honour to our nation and are a disgrace to others; but I refrain from doing so. I will, however, notice the example of the Duke of Wellington, who, though often shamefully abandoned by the Spaniards, never was faithless to them, nor gave them up, but was always ready to do everything for them, as if they had acted in the same manner towards him. This is one of the features by which we recognise the spirit of the Athenian people: a great man could guide them as he pleased; and it is only this readiness with which they listened to the voice of great

men, that explains how it was possible for Athens to exist as a democracy. The more a people is removed from this susceptibility and flexibility, the less is it capable of maintaining a republican constitution. Although this flexibility at Athens was at other times followed by sad consequences, as in the time of Alcibiades and Cleon, yet the Athenian people were so manageable, and had such tenderness of feeling, that the cruel decree of Cleon could be annulled as soon as another powerful popular orator came forward. This is the very thing which enabled Athens to be what it was. Mardonius now again advanced towards Athens; the Spartans, who ought to have proceeded towards Cithaeron, had not arrived, and thus he again took possession of Attica and ravaged it completely.

At length, however (Olymp. 75, 2), the Athenians prevailed upon the Peloponnesians to leave the Isthmus, and they gradually advanced towards Boeotia. There the battle of Plataeae was fought. Barthelemy, in his *Tablettes Chronologiques*, and others, I think, place it in September, eleven months after the battle of Salamis. Such a statement is a complete puzzle to me. "How did the whole summer pass away? Had Mardonius conducted himself in Thessaly entirely as a Persian Satrap, and delayed the matter in the usual Oriental manner? Whether at Plataeae he had 300,000 or 500,000 men at his command, is an idle question; but the number of the Greek army is likewise very much exaggerated." According to the account of Herodotus, all the Peloponnesians fought at Plataeae, with the exception of the Argives and Achaeans; the Athenians to the number of 8000 now served as hoplites, and their fleet was in Ionia. Including their light troops, the Greeks are said to have amounted to 100,000 men; but this is rather incredible; their number must have been much smaller. In regard to the accounts of this battle, it is historically certain that it was completely won by the Greeks, and that the remnants of the Persian army retreated without being vigorously pursued. It must have reached Asia, but it then disappears. It is also historically certain, that Pausanias was the commander of the allied army of the Greeks. "The account further states, that the battle was continued for two days; on the first an engagement

arose accidentally between the vanguards, in which the Greeks gained decided advantages. On the following day, they changed their position, to be still more secure against the Persian cavalry. The Persians, imagining that this was done from cowardice, attacked them, and were defeated in a pitched battle. Its issue was decided the more speedily because Mardonius fell, and his wing fled without a commander. The right wing, under Artabazus, made its retreat from the field of battle through Thessaly; the others had escaped to their camp behind a wooden fortification, where they defended themselves with the courage of despair. The camp was stormed, and immense booty fell into the hands of the Greeks; most of the Persians were no doubt cut to pieces. Artabazus took no rest till he reached Asia Minor, where Xerxes was still staying at Sardes, without doing anything for the war.

After their victory, the Greeks advanced towards Thebes. In accordance with a vow which they had made before the war, Thebes ought to have been destroyed by the Greeks. But their opinions were divided. The Thebans, and that with justice, cast the blame upon Ismenias and his στασιῶται, the oligarchs: but the latter found advocates among the Spartans, who were always passionately partial to any oligarchy.[1] Thus the Theban leaders escaped, and the Greeks showed a humane feeling towards the Thebans. It had been right, under the circumstances, to make such a vow, but it was at the same time well that they did not carry it into effect. The Persians were not pursued, and the districts which had been occupied by them as far as Macedonia, were evacuated, though we do not know how.

On the same day on which the battle of Plataeae was fought, the allied Greeks gained as complete a victory at sea. "In the spring the Athenians had refitted their fleet, and, accompanied by a few other Greek ships, they sailed to Delos, under the command of the Spartan Leotychides and the Athenian Xanthippus, the father of Pericles. The Persian fleet was in Ionia with

[1] This seems to be a slip, for the leaders of the Theban oligarchy at that time were Attaginus and Timagenidas; no Ismenias is mentioned. The oligarchs, moreover, were not treated gently by the Spartans. See Herod. ix. 88.—Ed.

the intention of preventing the islands from revolting. The Greeks were afraid of proceeding to Ionia, for the Cyclades still supported the Persian interest, and the Ionians did not inspire them with full confidence. It appears that the intercourse between the Ionians and Greece was very much confined by the Persian dominion; but Samos, Chios, and Lesbos, urgently demanded the assistance of the Greeks, and promised that Ionia would rise; and thus the Athenians at length prevailed on Leotychides to sail from Delos to Samos. The Persian fleet, the ships being drawn on shore, had timidly encamped opposite to Samos, at the foot of mount Mycale; hostages had been taken from all the Ionian cities in order to insure their fidelity. There the Greeks landed, overpowered the barbarians in their camp, and burnt their ships. During the battle they were joined by the Milesians and other Ionians."

After this victory of Mycale, the Ionian cities revolted against the Persians. "The most practical course would now have been, if the Ionians, as they were, in fact, advised to do, had abandoned their homes, and gone over to Greece; the Greeks who had sided with the Persians might then have been expelled, and the Ionians might have taken their places. But to abandon such a paradise of a country, and that in the fresh joy of victory, and the feeling of unity, was impossible for the Ionians. They gave themselves up to the hope, that they would be able to maintain themselves; and it would have been possible, had they remained as fresh and vigorous as they then were." The Persian empire must then have been completely paralysed. The other Greek cities from Doris as far as Aeolis, are said likewise to have asserted their independence; but this statement cannot be taken to refer to all the cities; for even immediately after these occurrences, and still more so at a later time, some of them appear as towns under the Persian dominion. Magnesia on the Maeander, and Myus, for example, were tributary to Persia as late as the time of the exile of Themistocles, "for the revenues derived from those places were given to him." This liberation of Asia Minor is commonly considered to have been far more general than it really was; it is usually supposed that the Greek cities in Asia were free down to the peace of Antal-

cidas; but this was not the case. They were soon reconquered by the Persians, and with a few occasional exceptions, they always remained subject to them. In later times, some Ionian and other Greek cities were subject to Persia, and paid tribute to it, while, on the other hand, they were at the same time allied with Athens. All such notions of freedom were very vague among the Asiatic nations, and among the ancients generally; the Romans alone had a strict system. "It was only the islands that permanently maintained their independence; they swore to the συνθῆκαι of the Greeks."

The Spartans now sailed home. The Athenians, however, perceiving the great importance of the town of Sestos, of cutting the Persians off from Europe, and of thus preventing their undertaking a fresh expedition, Xanthippus sailed thither with his fleet. The undertaking did not succeed till after many efforts, the art of besieging being unknown to the Greeks. But even for a long time after this, a brave Persian, of the name of Boges, maintained himself at Eion, at the mouth of the Strymon.[2]

In his work, *De Legibus*,[3] where Plato speaks most excellently on ancient Greek history, he says, with great frankness, "We boast of our ancestors, and speak of their great feats and of the days of Plataeae and Salamis; and it is becoming to us Athenians to do so; but if we mean to speak the truth, we must confess that, on the whole, that Persian war reflects extremely little honour upon the Greeks. The smallest number of the Hellenes took part in it; the Spartans did their duty at Thermopylae and Plataeae, but most of the Greek states did nothing, or surrendered to the enemy." Such is the judgment of Plato, who, according to his aristocratic sentiments, was by no means favourable to the Athenians; and that judgment is expressed in a work which he composed at an advanced age. If we consider history without being prejudiced, we must own that his words are true. The same opinion was expressed by Themistocles in his remonstrance with the Spartans, when they insisted upon

[2] The two preceding paragraphs have been transferred to this place from a later part of the present Lecture.

[3] iii. p. 692.

revenge being taken on those Greek towns which had sided with the Persians. He proved to them, that only thirty-one towns, and those for the most part small ones, had remained faithful to the cause of Greece, and taken part in the war against the Persians. In thus insisting on revenge, the intentions of Sparta were disgraceful to her, and she looked only to her own power; her main object was to destroy Argos, a plan which she had always cherished. In order to avenge their country, the Spartans wanted to destroy Argos, and to take the Argive territory, as a reward for their own valour; their aim, in general, was to cause as much destruction in Greece as possible. But the most disgraceful thing was their ingratitude towards Athens, to the restoration of which they would consent only on condition of its remaining an open, unprotected place. Numerous as are the instances of gross ingratitude of allies, yet there is scarcely one of equal baseness. A similar feeling was displayed at the Congress of Vienna, by certain powers, which wanted to pull down Prussia, although Germany owed its deliverance to Prussia. This conduct was quite like that of Sparta towards Athens. Had it not been for the wisdom and prudence of Themistocles, and had not Sparta, fortunately, been hesitating, as it always was, a war would have broken out. But so many Greeks were then looking with delight upon Athens as the deliverer from the yoke of Sparta, and the Athenians were so inspired and so conscious of their own power, that the undertaking against Athens would have turned out very ill for the Spartans, who would have lost their supremacy in Greece at one blow. But Themistocles, in his wisdom, exerted all his powers to prevent the outbreak of an internal war. Whether his plan was to draw the Greeks into a closer union than before, is not stated anywhere, but it certainly seems to be in accordance with his whole character; the plan, however, would have been thwarted by the obstinacy with which Sparta set forth her pretensions. Themistocles must have placed great hopes upon the Amphictyony. The Spartans wished to exclude from it all the tribes that had supported the Persians; but he insisted upon preserving the Amphictyonic league entire. There is an expression in the ancient authors

which has often been misunderstood. In a dispute between two towns, it is said that the one is ready διδόναι or λαμβάνειν δίκην ἐν ἀμφικτυονίᾳ. These expressions, which, in reference to the earlier times, are applied to the cases of several towns, have led St. Croix to assume a great number of Amphictyonies; but the real meaning unquestionably is, to be ready to refer the case to arbitration, in the same manner in which free people belonging to the Amphictyony, without sacrificing any part of their liberty, accepted the decision of the Amphictyony. We have, accordingly, two people, who are independent of each other, and choose a third to arbitrate between them; in this sense, Argos, for example, is called an Amphictyony, and the Spartans and Messenians may choose the Argives to arbitrate between them. It is possible that Themistocles, when he was so much concerned about preserving the Amphictyony, was thinking of such a salutary application of it for preserving the unity among the Greeks.

Themistocles now carried his great plans into full effect; he followed them up in the fortification of Athens, and the people took up his idea. He doubled the circumference of the city, surrounded it with strong walls, which were at once made so durable and excellent, though they bore marks of haste, that they were able to stand many centuries, and offer resistance in vigorous sieges. We can hardly conceive how it was possible for a country so completely devastated to rebuild and extend the city; and in addition to this, to execute such enormous works. "Imagine a poor people, which had hardly been able to save its scanty movable property, and now returns to a country consisting for the most part of barren rocky hills; and that people at once appears more powerful than ever!" We evidently want a knowledge of particular circumstances, by which the matter would become intelligible. There can be no doubt that the Athenians levied war contributions in Persia; and the allies, perhaps, also contributed to enable the Athenians to begin the rebuilding of their homes. The ancient city had had insignificant walls, or none at all, and the Athenians had built their houses around the

ἄκρα or around the narrow wall.[4] But this did not satisfy Themistocles; he fortified above all the port of Piraeeus. Nay, his real plan was—with a purpose altogether different from the pusillanimity with which the Roman people wanted to emigrate to Veii—entirely to abandon the upper city, and to rebuild it around the port Piraeeus, where the Athenians might have protected themselves on the land side by means of a small force, and might have devoted all their energy to the sea. He had the full confidence that Athens might now begin everything afresh. But he was unable to carry this plan, being opposed by sentimental recollections. Such feelings, displayed at the proper season, are very beautiful, but when great questions and plans are at stake, they ought to be put aside. The people were unwilling to have the temple of Athene Polias, of Erechtheus, and others, at a distance of forty stadia from the city. Athens afterwards had cause for bitterly regretting that she had not followed the advice of Themistocles. For a considerable period the long walls of Pericles offered a sufficient protection, but they required an immense garrison, and prevented the people allowing the fleet to act where they might wish it. New Athens would have been invulnerable, and would not have succumbed as the old city did. The fortification of Piraeeus was an extraordinary work, as grand as any of the Etruscan period; the walls were so broad, that two wagons could pass on them, one by the side of the other, and they were built all through of hewn stones, which were kept together with iron hooks and lead. All the buildings of that period were of incredible grandeur, and infinitely more so than those of succeeding ages. Such also is the case at Rome. The grandest works, like the cloacae, belong to the time of the kings; during the first period of the republic the style of building was still grand, but not so grand as in the earliest times; and thus it gradually goes down. The tunnel of the Alban lake gives us a great idea of the architecture of the time; but we feel that it is little in comparison with the more ancient structures. The aqueduct of Narni belongs to the time of Augustus, and although bricks were used in parts of it, we should in our days speak of

[4] Scil. "Hence the new walls and their extended circumference had become necessary."—Ed.

it as something gigantic; but when compared with the ancient buildings, it appears very inferior. Pericles followed, in his architectural works, the style of Themistocles, who was certainly the first that, after the lapse of many centuries, created gigantic structures.

"Themistocles first broke through the ancient prejudices against strangers: until his time, strangers at Athens were in a forlorn condition; they were not, indeed, without protection, but they were not *personae civiles*; they were obliged to have a patron, and were exposed to much ill-usage from the citizens. Themistocles raised the metoeci into a distinct class, fixed their taxes, assigned them their share in military service, and not only rendered it possible for them to obtain the franchise, but facilitated it. By this means, the population of the depopulated city became in a few years far more numerous than it had been before. At the same time industry became a power in the state, creating in it a general activity; and by the increase of their navy, the Athenians became completely a maritime people. Athens thus entirely reconstructed by Themistocles became the emporium of the world."

LECTURE XXXIX.

The manner in which the Persians continued the war, shows the spirit of the East, and the whole contemptible character of eastern despotism. They never thought of recovering their lost honours, leaving it entirely to the Greeks as to how they would continue the war, and confining themselves to carrying on a slothful defensive war, without exertion, as well as without pain at what had been lost. "The king himself gave up the war entirely, and we find only the several satraps engaged against the Greeks." Hence the Greeks were left to act as they pleased, not being obliged on their side to make any great exertions. Necessity led them, in the first instance, to secure the naviga-

tion in the Euxine to those countries, which together with Sicily, and no doubt Egypt also, supplied Greece with corn. Their first undertaking, therefore, was directed against Sestos, whence they proceeded to Byzantium, and attacked that city likewise. Byzantium was in the hands of a strong Persian garrison; it seems to have had a kind of Persian colony, and its Greek inhabitants were kept in a state of servitude. Its situation rendered it difficult to attack the place, which was defended by the Persians with great perseverance. The attack of the Greeks was conducted by Pausanias, the conqueror of Plataeae, although the Spartans formed the smallest part of the army, the greater part of the allies, and in fact the flower of the army, consisting of Athenians. After a long and obstinate defence, he took the town, and many illustrious Persians were made prisoners. The Persians in Asia Minor did not lift up a hand to succour the besieged.

This siege of Byzantium decided the affairs of Greece. The Spartan commander on this occasion, as was always the custom of the Spartans, had treated the allies like slaves, and had thus roused an indescribable exasperation among them. The Athenian generals had been treated with insults, whereas they themselves showed a friendly and kindly disposition towards the other Greeks; and there gradually arose among the Greeks a feeling that the pretension of the Spartans to have the supreme command of the fleet, was ridiculous, because they themselves had so few ships. Aristides and Cimon contrived to excite the desire among the allies to withdraw from the Spartan commanders and join the Athenians. The Spartans found themselves deserted, the allies declared that they would receive their orders from the Athenian generals, and the latter, by the unanimous desire of all the maritime towns in Greece, withdrew from the Spartan commanders. Thus "the Spartans lost the supremacy, and" the Athenians were called upon to manage the war against Persia.

This occurrence excited the Spartans who had at first been stupefied by surprise, to such a degree, that they were on the point of declaring war against Athens; but they refrained from it, for they saw that they were so isolated, that they would have to pay

dearly for it if they commenced a war. It is impossible accurately to fix the time when these events occurred; all we know is that they happened after the taking of Byzantium; but the time of that event itself is uncertain, and we do not know how long after the capture of that town those events occurred. The chronology of that period is altogether extremely confused; Diodorus in particular, who is our principal authority, is very unsatisfactory. In his work all these events are crowded together immediately after the battle of Salamis; and then there follow many years, of which he relates nothing, except what happened in Sicily. But even in regard to Sicily, he is full of confusion, as we see particularly when we compare his statements with the authentic records of the Parian chronicle. The reign of Gelon, for example, is placed by him ten years earlier than it actually occurs; but of this I shall have occasion to speak in the history of Sicily. The Athenians from the first made a prudent and cautious use of their new greatness. Although jealousy had already become much more active among their generals, yet no hostilities broke out as yet. The first period thus passed away for the Athenians amid the feeling of enthusiasm at their victory; they were rich in great men who kept up the happy mood of the people, and the whole nation was disposed to enter upon great and bold undertakings. The allies, therefore, found a very great improvement of their condition under the management of Athens, when they compared it with the stubborn Spartan dominion.

But soon afterwards the hostility of the Spartans displayed itself more openly. They had recalled Pausanias, who, however, still remained for a time on the Hellespont, even without a fleet, and being dissatisfied with the Greeks, and with his own position, entered into treacherous relations with the Persians. "He was a true Spartan hypocrite, who at home took part in the syssitia, and wore a coarse cloak, but when abroad, was voluptuous, pompous, and extravagant. He promised the Persians to do something which he could not carry out, and which perhaps he did not mean seriously; just as Wallenstein carried on his negotiations with the Swedes, at least till very near the end of his life. Wallenstein continued the conspiracy in order to be able, at all

events, to bid defiance. But Pausanias cannot have imagined that it was in his power to deliver up Greece into the hands of the Persians; and my belief is, that his object was a most base scheme to induce the Persians to give him money. But the conspiracy led him onward from one step to another. "When he had returned to Sparta he had not been found guilty." The story of the discovery of his treason is well known; how he kept up a correspondence with the Persians, and suggested to them to despatch the messengers, until, in the end, one who saw that none of the messengers returned from Artabazus, opened the letter and brought it to Sparta. But even after this letter had been read, the oligarchs tried to protect him; they were averse to lay hands on the noble traitor, thinking that possibly something else might be at the bottom. Accordingly a secret interview was arranged between the messenger and Pausanias, in which he betrayed everything, while the Ephors being concealed somewhere close by, heard it all. After this discovery, he fled into an asylum, the temple of Athena Chalcioecos. The entrance was walled up, and he died of starvation in the sanctuary; or rather, they watched him until he was on the point of expiring, when they dragged him out, in order that, according to their casuistry, he might breathe his last in the open air, and not in the temple.

The treachery of Pausanias was made by the Spartans the ground of an accusation against Themistocles, whom they could not forgive having deceived them, and having so prudently contrived to fortify the city and Piraeeus. If we were good-natured enough to believe the common accounts of that period, we might say that the Spartans had good reason for entertaining a personal hatred of Themistocles: I mean, if we suppose the anecdote to be true, that Themistocles once told the Athenian people, that he had devised a plan of the highest importance to them, but which he could not publicly communicate, and begged of them to select a man to whom he might reveal it, adding that then they themselves might decide as to whether it should be executed. Aristides was chosen, and the plan was to burn the Spartan arsenal at Gythium. But Aristides dissuaded them from adopting the proposal as dishonourable, whereupon it was rejected by

the people. This anecdote, which is recorded by Plutarch, and even by Cicero,[1] reflects more honour upon the Athenian people than such anecdotes usually do; but it is unquestionably a mere fiction. Plutarch was not the first biographer, many had lived and written before him, as Hegesippus and others, and many anecdotes had become current before his time. In the times of the Macedonians and Romans, there were an immense number of biographers and collectors of anecdotes, all of whom were more or less uncritical; and with them arose the numberless stories about great men; many of them are very pretty and pleasing, but others are defamatory and vile, especially the stupid stories about Demosthenes, and the above-mentioned anecdote about Themistocles is of that calumniatory nature. Another anecdote is evidently much more ancient. When Themistocles had formed the determination to fortify Piraeeus, it is said, he was not invested with any office which might have enabled him to take the measures necessary to commence the building. But from the experience which he had gained, he foresaw, that if it became known, Sparta would declare war for the purpose of preventing it. Hence he declared to the people that he had a highly important plan, but that he would not publicly announce it. He accordingly requested them to choose two men to whom he might communicate it, and who might then decide upon it. The people appointed for this purpose, Aristides, and Xanthippus the father of Pericles, two men of different parties, for Aristides was an aristocrat of the mildest possible character, and Xanthippus, though of a very noble family, entertained democratic sentiments. To these Themistocles revealed his plan, and both then declared to the people that it was excellent, and that they recommended it for the people's acceptance; but the people were yet doubtful, being unwilling to entrust three men with the execution of a plan, the object of which was unknown. The people therefore proposed that the council, on its oath to keep the secret, should have an interview with Themistocles, and promised that, if the council also shculd sanction the proposal, they would authorize its

[1] *De Off.* iii. 11.

execution. This was done, the council approved of the plan, and the three men were commissioned to carry it into effect. The defamatory anecdote mentioned before, has evidently been manufactured out of this very credible account. What advantage could the Athenians have derived from the burning of the miserable arsenal at Gythium, containing no more than sixteen galleys, as they themselves had nearly three hundred? Why should they have committed an act which would have brought them into bad odour with all Greece, for so extremely petty an advantage? Such things are inventions of sophists. The sophists of later times deceived men with such stories, and often deceived men the most cautious. In such cases we may say:

Πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονέοντος.

Cicero himself believed the tale, because it referred to a far distant time. As in novels we put up with many improbabilities, so there are many things in ancient history which do not disturb the reader, although if they belonged to modern history, he would see at once that they are inconceivable. In modern history too, we have calumnies which are propagated with the greatest audacity, and are believed by simpletons without number. Cicero certainly does not belong to this class of men, but such is the case with ancient history. An ingenious man once said: "It is thought that at length people will come to read ancient history as if it had really happened," a remark which is really excellent. People seek in ancient history not beings like ourselves, but ideal, airy beings who act according to laws quite different from ours.

But the true reason why the Spartans hated Themistocles was this: he had from the first turned the attention of the Athenians to the sea, and without cessation he continued to do so more and more. It is remarkable that, in all the Greek cities, the theatres in which the popular assemblies were held, and orators addressed the people, were so constructed, that the people looked towards the sea: such was the case at Tarentum and everywhere else; even the theatre at Tusculum, which Lucien Bonaparte has caused to be laid open, is turned towards the

water, and the spectators had the prospect of the distant sea.[2] At Athens the people did not indeed assemble in the theatre, but in the earliest times they met in the Pnyx, which was constructed like a theatre, with seats cut out of the rock. As in ancient times the Roman orators, when addressing the people from the suggestum or rostra, between the Comitium and Forum, looked towards the Comitium, because the senate and the patricians stood there, until Gracchus turned round towards the Forum where the people stood—in itself a trifling circumstance, but which at the time was significant, and declared that the senate was no longer the highest power in the republic, while it was at the same time a symptom of approaching anarchy—so Themistocles turned the platform for the orators in the Pnyx towards the sea, whereas hitherto it had faced the land; but it was not turned towards the sea alone, but also towards another class of the people. The ancient Athenian families were generally landed proprietors, the real popular element consisting of fisherman and sailors. The true element of the Greek nation was the sea, as that of the Italian people was agriculture. This feature we can trace as far as the Greek colonies in southern Italy, where the Neapolitans were at all times excellent sailors. Such is the case even at the present day: the Greeks are still fond of the sea, they live nearly all the year on board their ships, and they know how to control the element; it is only during winter that they return home. That general partiality for the sea was now developed among the Athenians with great rapidity; the whole people became sailors, and all the population of Piraeeus was connected with navigation. Themistocles, by looking from the platform towards the sea, did homage to that portion of the people which constituted the strength of the nation, just as Valerius Publicola lowered the *fasces* before the assembly of the *populus*. There they lay, as the oracle expressed it, the "wooden walls of Athens." This rising power of Athens at sea, the voluntary adhesion of the other Greeks, and the rapidity with which Themistocles developed the greatness of Athens,—these were the causes which made the Spartans

[2] Comp. *Lectures on Rom. Hist.* vol. i. p. 526.

his implacable enemies. They accordingly caused a false accusation to be brought forward against him, charging him with being implicated in the conspiracy of Pausanias. Themistocles was perfectly innocent, as is clearly proved and attested. "He felt that by his own personal greatness he was far more than he would have been as a tyrant; the period of tyrants, moreover, had then passed by, and had not yet returned. Neither Themistocles nor any other Athenian could have conceived the preposterous idea, which Pausanias had entertained, of making himself king of Greece under the supremacy of Persia." The people, in fact, at first acquitted him. But the course of human affairs seems to be managed so as to prevent the success of great actions making man too happy; and so it came to pass that a powerful party was formed at Athens against Themistocles; it was headed by Cimon. Aristides, the honest aristocrat, cannot be accused of having intrigued against Themistocles, but Cimon did intrigue. Being the son of Miltiades, he was of a more illustrious family than Themistocles, and belonged to the most ancient Attic nobility; he was a man of great parts, and had probably already distinguished himself in the battle on the Eurymedon, which probably occurred before the ostracism of Themistocles.

Cimon commanded the fleet, but under the supreme guidance of Themistocles, who had at the same time the administration of whole states. After the battle of Salamis, Themistocles himself had not commanded an Athenian fleet, but was engaged in carrying on the administration of the state, while Cimon acted as commander of the forces. When the Greeks had abandoned the Spartans, and placed themselves under the Athenians, he first led them against Eion, at the mouth of the Strymon, and conquered that fortress. He then subdued Scyros, whose rude inhabitants, Pelasgian Dolopians, rendered the sea unsafe by their piracy. The Athenians sent a cleruchia to the island, the first which they established in a distant country. One had before this time been established at Chalcis in Euboea, but it does not seem to have been of long duration. A cleruchia consisted in this: a conquered territory was divided into a number of lots, which were given to a certain number of citizens, or rather all

the citizens were permitted to draw lots, so that only a certain number, say 800, were winners; and every winner received a share in the conquered country. He might then go himself, settle upon his new estate, and cultivate it; but commonly it was left to the ancient owners, who had now to pay a rent as tenants. In Scyros, however, a regular Attic colony was established, just as was afterwards the case in Lemnos and Imbros. In regard to these settlements, it is uncertain whether the Athenians, who joined in them, could retain their rights in their phyle and demos, and at the same time be citizens of the colony, or whether they became quite estranged from Athens, and lost their franchise. Nothing can be said with positive certainty about this matter; but I am inclined to consider the former to have been the case: just as in a Roman military colony, a man remained a Roman citizen, so that, *e. g.* a *municeps Arpinas* might at the same time be a Roman citizen.

"The Aegean was now perfectly freed from the fleets of the Persians, and they did not appear again west of Phaselis. The war was carried on without constant military operations, and the intercourse among the nations was not suspended." Cimon was now sent out to complete the liberation of the Greek cities in Asia Minor; and this was done either in consequence of a report that a Phoenician fleet was again assembling for the purpose of reconquering Samos and Chios, or it may be that Cimon's expedition induced the Persians to equip their galleys. "Ever since the battle of Salamis, the Phoenicians had directed their thoughts only to the protection of their commerce, and of the island of Cyprus; according to Herodotus, they had separated themselves from the Persian fleet even before the battle of Mycale." A large Persian fleet of galleys was assembling on the coast of Pamphylia, which was to be joined by a Phoenician squadron of eighty ships, which was already in Cyprus, when Cimon arrived before Phaselis (Olymp. 77, 4). But Cimon boldly determined to attack it before the arrival of the Phoenician contingent. In the tenth year after the battle of Salamis, he sailed with a fleet of somewhat more than two hundred galleys against the hostile armament which lay at anchor in the roads at the mouth of the Eurymedon, and which far surpassed his own in numbers; its

exact amount is uncertain. Cimon attacked the enemy, and overpowered them in one bold onset. On that day he destroyed or took two hundred hostile galleys; he then landed, and gained as decisive a victory over the Persian army, consisting of the troops which were probably intended to embark in the galleys. When, after this, he heard that the eighty Phoenician galleys were on their way from Cyprus, he immediately sailed out to meet them, without allowing them time to hear of the defeat of the Persians, and annihilated the whole squadron. I have on former occasions directed your attention to the fact, that men generally entertain too contemptible a notion about the navigation, the maritime tactics, and the character of the galleys of the ancients.[3] Their galleys must be conceived as almost like our steam-boats; the main object being that they should be independent of the wind. Hence the structure of an ancient galley was in all essential points like that of a steam-boat; human hands supplied the place of the modern engines in propelling the ship against the wind and the current; hence, also, they were very light boats, intended only for speedy motion; their bulk was as slender as possible, in order that the propelling force might as much as possible be proportionate to it. The ancient galleys were very terrible in their way. Like steam-boats they had only a few sails, that they might be able to avail themselves of a favourable wind. Ships of burden, on the other hand, *naves onerariae* ὁλκάδες, φορτίδες, were awkward and clumsy, like the Venetian ships in the middle ages, but were constructed altogether in such a manner as to depend on their sails; and their sailing power was very great, notwithstanding their awkwardness. The third class of ships were the λέμβοι, small vessels with sails, quick sailers, like the present ships in the Mediterranean.

This victory most justly gained for Cimon an extraordinary importance in the opinion of the people, and directed their eyes towards him. Cimon and Themistocles were entirely different men; the former was a distinguished officer, and as a general, probably superior to Themistocles, of whom no great military action

[3] Comp. *Lect. on Rom. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 22, foll.; *Rom. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 594.

is on record, except the battle of Salamis; but Cimon did not possess the *civilis prudentia* of Themistocles, who was *prudentissimus Graecorum*. Cimon was clever, fortunate, very rich, and liberal, and consequently extremely popular. It is said of him, that he did not enrich himself by unjust means, and I willingly believe it, for a proud mind like his, is above such things. But we must not on that account consider him as a strictly disinterested man, who despised wealth like a Curius or a Fabricius. For he had had the greatest difficulty in raising the fine which Miltiades had been sentenced to pay; that fine had exhausted his property, and yet we afterwards find, that he had a very brilliant fortune: a fact which is established not merely by anecdotes, but by the authority of Aristotle. Most anecdotes may be of the kind which I have described to you before; but whatever is related on the authority of Aristotle, must be believed, just as when Thucydides relates a thing as historical, provided it can be explained in any way. Now Aristotle modifies the ridiculous popular tradition, that Cimon kept open house for all citizens; that would indeed have required a large property! But he attests that Cimon did so for the members of his own demos, the Laciadae: whoever of them wanted a meal found it in his house. Think, what a fortune he must have had! Moreover he went to the agora accompanied by servants with clothes, and when he saw any of his old companions in war with torn garments he ordered new clothes to be given to them. Such things certainly did not happen every day, otherwise many would have offered themselves as candidates for a set of new clothes, as in the story of the captain to whom Trajan gave money, that he might be able to keep a slave. In many of these features Cimon's μεγαλοφροσύνη had evidently become ostentatious; but he was really splendidly generous, and on that account very popular. Themistocles never acted in such a manner; his popularity was based on other foundations. Cimon was hostile to him, and hostility between such men is in fact quite natural; and it is certain that he aimed at getting Themistocles exiled by ostracism. Cimon, moreover, was on very good terms with the Spartans, more so than any Athenian at any time; and thus he fostered in a very deplorable manner

the ingratitude of the Athenians towards the greatest among their fellow citizens. Themistocles withdrew to Argos, and there lived quietly in exile. But the Spartans repeated the charge of treason against him, and demanded that he should appear at Sparta before a court of the Spartan allies, at which they presided. There he would certainly have met with an ignominious death; he accordingly fled, first to Admetus, king of the Molottians in Epirus, then across the Tomarus, a mountain of Macedonia, towards the coast, and thence proceeded to Asia.

The Persian king, like the Spartans, had offered a prize for his head. But, in the sea-port at which he landed, one of his friends, pretending to send a female slave as a present to the king, disguised Themistocles, and thus conveyed him to Susa, where no one recognised him. Another person, to whom he was recommended, contrived to get him presented to the great king, without his name being mentioned. Artaxerxes was so struck with him, that he honoured him with his favour and confidence; nay, even allowed him to go down to Asia Minor, where he assigned him three towns as fiefs, and allowed him to fix his residence at Magnesia, close to the sea. These are established facts, as well as that he never took revenge on the Greeks, and that he never employed arms against his country. But it is not clear in what manner this noble conduct became possible for him; whether it was that the inactivity of the Persians rendered it easy to him, or that an early death freed him from his dilemma. As early as the time of Aristophanes,[4] it was very generally believed at Athens that he had put an end to his existence, to save himself from the sad temptation of serving against his country. This is possible; but it is generally acknowledged, that the statement of his having killed himself by drinking ox-blood is a mere fiction, for no quadruped has poisonous blood. There are, however, several cases in which men are said, by the ancients, to have killed themselves with the blood of oxen. We know, indeed, that this is impossible; but the prussic acid of modern times was at first (about ninety or one hundred years ago) prepared from blood, and is it not pos-

[4] *Equit.* 83, foll.

sible that the ancients, of whose chemical knowledge we form much too low an estimate, knew how to prepare it, though, perhaps, in an impure and imperfect state, and thus extracted the deadliest of all poisons from blood? Such an explanation seems to me by no means forced; and how should such a tradition have become established in Greece, had there not been an occasion for it? If such a preparation had no specific name, it might very well be called ox-blood; and the story may have been understood at Athens in the same manner in which it has been understood down to our own days, namely, that Themistocles killed himself with actual ox-blood. I will mention here, by the way, that a scholar, in explaining the ancients, also requires this kind of physical knowledge, in order to be able to judge of such things, and that he ought not to rest satisfied with the knowledge of the languages alone. Similar things occur in other ancient accounts, which are rejected as fables; as, for example, that of the well Styx, in Arcadia. I am most decidedly of opinion that this, and one other well in Greece, contained vitriol, or even arsenic. Similar wells, containing vitriol, have recently been discovered in America, and I have no doubt that arsenic also occurs in a pure state. In this manner many traditions are rejected as *fabellae aniles* which are founded on truth, but are not at once intelligible to us.[5]

LECTURE XL.

Soon after Cimon's victories, the Athenians had fresh opportunities for great undertakings, which however did not produce the anticipated results. When Xerxes had been assassinated (Olymp. 78, 1), the provinces of his empire were thrown into great commotion, and more especially Egypt, that province

[5] This whole paragraph has been transferred to this place from about the middle of the following Lecture.—Ed.

which bore the Persian dominion most reluctantly. The Egyptians were, indeed, an exclusive nation, and, owing to their castes, no one could be admitted among them; but it was, nevertheless, at that time possible to enter into a close union with them. This had been done by the neighbouring Libyans; they had adopted the Egyptian religion, and by this communion they had become so like the Egyptians, that the people in their immediate vicinity doubted whether they should be considered as Egyptians or as Libyans. Libya extended as far as lake Mareotis; the site on which Alexandria stands does not, properly speaking, belong to Egypt, which terminates near Aboukir, at the Canopian mouth of the Nile; but, in later times, the Libyans of that part considered themselves to belong to Egypt, having adopted the Egyptian religion even before the time of Herodotus; they refused, however, to recognise the oracle of Ammon.[1] Thus Inarus, a son of Psammetichus, and prince of the Libyans in those parts, "who had only for a time been subject to the Persians under Darius," could venture to offer himself to the Egyptians as their king. Even before his time, Amyrtaeus had come forward in the Delta, and, from the time of previous insurrections, had maintained himself in the marshes and inaccessible districts. Inarus, in consequence of his being a friend of Amyrtaeus and a stranger, was not received with general favour by the Egyptians; many, however, joined him, and he gained a great victory over Achaemenes, the king's brother, "who was either governor of Egypt, or had then been sent by the king to quell the insurrection; he lost his life, and" his army was completely defeated. Inarus had, from the beginning, Greeks in his service, and he now concluded a treaty with the Athenian

[1] "The Libyans were not a barbarous people; they had adopted much of the civilisation of the Cyreneans as well as of the Egyptians; many of them, moreover, were not nomads, but carried on agriculture and commerce. Della Cella found *inscriptiones trilingues* in Cyrenaica: the Greek he recognised in them, and the two other languages, were no doubt Punic and Libyan. The latter, which was written in peculiar characters, might certainly still be deciphered, as the ancient Shilha language still exists, though to a much smaller extent than formerly, when it was spoken from the Canary Islands as far as the falls of the Nile. It is possible that its alphabet was Iberian."—1826.

people, who sent him a fleet of no less than two hundred triremes, with a considerable force, "which had just been dispatched to Cyprus." It sailed up the Nile (Olymp. 79, 2), and the Athenians, united with Inarus, chased the Persians back as far as Memphis, and chased them even into the city as far as what was called the white fortress. Memphis consisted of several towns; the old town, the new town, and the white fortress, which was the fortified part of the city. "The other parts were open, like most Egyptian towns, whence the conquest of the country was so easy when the enemy had once entered it."

The name "white fortress" reminds us of similar designations, as, for example, at Moscow, where the white town also was distinguished from the rest; in Slavonian cities in general we find a distinction between white and black towns. The Persians, to return to our subject, threw themselves into the white town, which was strongly fortified, and were joined by many of the Egyptians. There they were vigorously besieged by the Athenians and Inarus, and success seemed certain. But Artaxerxes now was roused: he sent to the assistance of the besieged a large army, together with a Phoenician fleet under Megabyzus, the son of the well-known Zopyrus, in the time of Darius Hystaspis; a man who was distinguished above all the other Persians. He trained his army admirably, reinforced it in Egypt, and pressed the Athenians so hard, that they raised the siege. "Inarus lost a pitched battle, and the Athenians" wanted to return with their ships, but the Persians had obstructed the river, and thus they retreated to the island of Prosopitis, the situation of which is not clearly ascertained; we only know, that it must have been near the beginning of the Delta. Megabyzus drained the branch of the Nile in which the Athenian ships were stationed, so that they came to be on dry land (this must have been done at the season when the water of the Nile was at its lowest point), and pursued the Athenians into the island. There the Athenians offered an heroic resistance, which is not honoured in history as it ought to be. They themselves set fire to their ships, and by their gallant defence, obtained, after the lapse of eighteen months, a capitulation (Olymp. 80, 4), which, however, was basely violated by the barbarians; a por-

tion only fought its way through the enemy, and escaped through the Libyan desert to Cyrene, and thence to Greece—an extraordinary feat! It is one of those achievements of which it is to be deplored that we do not know more: the Athenians did not make the most of their own glory, for this expedition is scarcely mentioned by them. Inarus fell into the hands of the Persians; "he was at first mildly treated by Artaxerxes, but was then nailed on a cross by queen Amytis." Egypt was thus brought back under the Persian yoke, but not for any length of time, for the race of Amyrtaeus soon after spread and delivered Egypt for a considerable period. This indefatigable perseverance of the Egyptians in the struggle for their independence is glorious; and it is not fair to consider the history of Egypt as terminating with its conquest by Cambyses: this striving after freedom is more glorious to the nation than so many exploits in the days of its greatness and power.

"Thus ended the expedition, which had lasted six years—the numbers in Diodorus are wrong." The loss which the Athenians there sustained is alone sufficient to attest the incredible greatness of their republic at that time, as they so easily got over it, and as they were not broken down even by the loss of 200 galleys, "and of so many citizens; for the armies at that time still consisted entirely of citizens, and the hoplites were all most respectable people." Meanwhile they had to struggle in Greece itself with much hostile opposition. I have already mentioned the fact, that the Greeks, abandoning the Spartans, transferred to Athens the supreme command in the war against Persia. On that occasion Aristides deserved the honourable surname of the Just, which is remembered by posterity. His justice and fairness displayed themselves most brilliantly in his conduct towards the allies, whom he inspired with such perfect confidence, that they themselves requested him to regulate their relations to one another. The object of the confederacy was to continue the general war against the Persians, to which they were urged on by a noble feeling of revenge, "without any other interest." This same feeling induced them to leave the temples burnt down by the Persians in ruins, that their descendants might see them, and that the feeling of exasperation against the common enemy

might not become extinct until they should succeed in taking vengeance on the great king at Susa. Hence the new temples rose by the side of the ancient ones; only in those cases in which the flames had merely injured, but not destroyed the temples, the outside was restored and adorned; but the inside was left in its ruinous condition. Thus the walls blackened by smoke remained on the Acropolis of Athens down to the most brilliant period of the city; and for centuries, the traces of the Persian destruction were seen by the Athenians. At first that spirit of revenge was very general; the allies rejoiced that Athens was at their head, and left it to her to determine the relations of the confederacy. Aristides drew up a list of the contingents to be furnished by each state; but as many small contingents were a disadvantage rather than an advantage, all were left to decide for themselves, whether they would furnish their contingents in ships and men, or whether they would pledge themselves to pay money instead of serving in war. A common treasury, containing these contributions, was established at Delos, of which the treasurers (Ἑλληνοταμίαι) were appointed by the Athenian people; for then, the remembrance of the liberation being yet fresh, it was thought fair, that the Athenians should elect the treasurers from among themselves. The money was destined to defray the expenses of the war; and as the allies became more and more disinclined to serve in the war themselves, the Athenians served for them, and this was a great source of wealth to Athens.

But the delicate and beautiful relation of veneration and gratitude subsisting between the allies and the Athenian people was very soon disturbed. The allies soon forgot the greatness of Athens, imagined that they were equal to her, and saw in her nothing but higher pretensions; and they were overpowered by a vanity which is always strongest with those who have the least right to it. It was forgotten that an Aeschylus and a Sophocles were living at Athens, that the city which had given birth to Themistocles, Cimon, Aristides, and Pericles, which had so gloriously risen from its ruins, was a city of a different kind from their own, and that she had true aristocratic claims. The Naxians and Parians felt aggrieved that they could not establish their pretensions by an arithmetical example; Athens,

they said, has twenty thousand citizens, and we have five thousand, so that Athens stands to us in the relation of four to one; and if all the allies count a hundred thousand citizens, Athens ought to have only one-fifth of the power. This vulgar mode of measuring their strength arithmetically spread among the allies, and all kinds of mutinies arose against Athens. The Naxians were the first to show their discontent; the Athenians subdued them, punished them severely, and sent a cleruchia into the island, "a punishment which was then very common;" that cleruchia continued for a long time, and is still mentioned in Plato's Eutyphron.[2] But as they were only human beings, the Athenians also did not remain free from things that deserve blame, for they soon abused the power and superiority to which they were fully entitled. They had at first respected the allies, and had treated them with that consideration which they owed to free states. It had been intended that Athens should stand on the one side with a commanding influence, and the allies on the other, should be treated with respectful consideration, though they did not possess equal power; this relation, however, did not continue long. The Athenians soon hurt and offended the allies, who, it must be owned, had given the first provocation, and set themselves up as their masters. The allies themselves facilitated the assumption of the Athenians through their own languor and sloth; and they rather liked to see the Athenians manning the ships in place of themselves. The number of allies that sent their contingents in triremes became smaller and smaller, most of them preferring to pay their contribution in money. This was very acceptable to the Athenians, "for they thereby gained in internal strength," and their own fleet increased in proportion as those of their allies decreased; so that at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, their navy amounted to four hundred galleys. But they never compelled an island to do away with its navy, so long as it did not revolt; and Lesbos and Chios remained quite free, as long as they were faithful. Thucydides, in whose great and noble soul impartiality shines so brightly, very justly says, that the change in the relation of the allies must be attributed to their own indolence.

[2] p. 4.

This period is marked by some minor occurrences, which in a general history we cannot enumerate; as, for example, the feud with Thasos, whereby Athens became possessed of gold and silver mines in Thrace. Thasos was compelled, after a long resistance, to pull down its fortifications, to deliver up its ships, and to abandon the mines on the opposite continent to the Athenians. At the same time Athens founded its colony of Amphipolis on the Strymon, which at first received a severe blow, but nevertheless struck root, and soon became flourishing. But the Attic element was not sufficiently strong in this colony, and its subsequent revolt did great injury to the republic. Had it been possible to establish a true Athenian colony there, its possession would have been permanent and of important consequences to Athens, for the colony was of great value so long as it remained dependent, both on account of the mines, and because the Athenians imported from that quarter their best timber, also tar from mount Rhodope (the best, however, came from Italy), and hemp from Thrace.

Meanwhile, the relations between Sparta and Athens became more and more embroiled. The Spartans had entertained the dishonourable intention of attacking Athens during the expedition to Thasos[3] (Olymp. 79, 2), when the fearful earthquake, which changed all Sparta into a heap of ruins, turned their attention in a different direction. This was the earthquake of mount Taygetus, which is considered the most fearful that Greece ever experienced, however terrible the one occurring in the Peloponnesian war, and that happening about Olymp. 101, were. It may have been connected with an eruption of mount Aetna. The shock of the earth was felt far and wide. I have spoken, in the second volume of my history of Rome, on the very remarkable consequences of the earthquake.[4] Not only Sparta lay entirely in ruins, but one of the peaks of Taygetus was thrown down, and rolled into the valley of the Eurotas,

[3] "Thasos" is here introduced by conjecture; all the MSS. have "Egypt;" but the correction is made with reference to Thucydides (i. 101), whom Niebuhr is evidently following during this period.—Ed.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 275.

crushing everything in its way. The Greeks recognised in this fearful catastrophe a punishment for an inhuman deed of the Spartans. Some revolted Helots, who had taken refuge in the temple of Poseidon, at Taenarum, and whose lives the Spartans had promised to spare, had been murdered by them in the temple, notwithstanding their promise. This act may be considered as historical, though we may not be able to see any connection between the anger of Poseidon and the earthquake. The very consequences of this calamity show that Sparta, at that time, atrociously maltreated the Helots; for those Helots who believed Sparta to be annihilated, were engaged in a general insurrection; and had not King Archidamus, immediately after the earthquake, caused the trumpets to be sounded to call the Spartans to arms, it is probable that during the first consternation at the catastrophe, all the Spartans would have been massacred by the Helots. But even when this plan had failed, they remained in a state of insurrection, and many of the perioeci revolted at the same time. The bondsmen, as well as a portion of the inhabitants of the country, thus were in arms against Sparta, and the few remnants of the ancient Messenians, who had been reduced to the condition of Helots, seized the opportunity of recovering their independence, and took possession of Ithome, whose fortifications, it would seem, were still standing from early times. The Spartans were in the greatest distress; the whole of the western country was in a state of insurrection; and if the Athenians had on that occasion acted towards Sparta as the Spartans on all occasions acted towards them, Sparta would have been lost. If the Athenians had had such subjects, the Spartans would have acted against Athens with all their might; but the Athenian people, so much decried, and so often insulted by Sparta, had no such feeling, however natural it would have been, but they were ready, at the first call of the Spartans "(who wanted the assistance of the Athenians in the siege of Ithome, as by this time they had acquired great skill in the mechanic arts)" to send them assistance. Accordingly, Cimon, who was actuated by the friendliest feelings towards them, and who was therefore most likely to inspire them with confidence, was dispatched to Sparta with a strong

force. Whether it was right to assist the Spartans against the oppressed, is another consideration; states have never taken such things into consideration: they always side with the rulers. When Cimon appeared, he was throughout Peloponnesus received with distrust by the friends of Sparta. The Corinthians wanted to shut their gates against him, and he was almost obliged to make quarters for his soldiers by main force. The Athenians, taking no revenge for this conduct, advanced to join the other allies, and did good service to the Spartans. But the more the Athenians exerted themselves for the Spartans, and the more they attracted the attention of the Peloponnesians, the more was the evil conscience of the Spartans awakened, which told them, that in a similar case they would not have thought or acted so nobly, and they tried, as soon as possible, to get rid of the Athenians. No sooner was the most threatening danger past, than they declared to the Athenians that they felt grateful to them, but that they no longer required their assistance, and dismissed them, while they retained their other allies. The Athenians felt, indeed, deeply hurt, but did not give vent to their feelings.

But the causes of irritation continued to increase (Olymp. 79 and 80). The Aeginetans were the only Doric maritime power, the only one which on the side of the Peloponnesians was opposed to the Athenians, and to some extent could cope with them. The Athenians, however, by themselves, were infinitely more powerful than all the Peloponnesians together, and were, moreover, supported by their allies; and the relation between the Aeginetans and Athenians somewhat resembled that between the navy of the United States of America and Great Britain. The Dorians, Corinthians, and Spartans, in an unpardonable manner, incited the Aeginetans against Athens, although they were unable to support them. The Athenians directed their forces against Aegina, gained a decisive victory over the Aeginetans, and over the Corinthians, who had come to their assistance; destroyed their navy, and landed in Aegina, which was compelled to submit. The great support sent to Aegina by the Peloponnesians, who had so much incited and urged them on, consisted of three hundred men!

It was a period of general excitement and division in Greece. The small states were involved with one another in a thousand disputes, and in this manner the Megarians and Corinthians also were quarrelling with each other. The Corinthians, being the more powerful, entertained schemes of conquering Megara; and the Megarians, although Dorians, threw themselves into the arms of the Athenians. The latter sent them assistance, but took possession of their fortified places and of their city. This dependence, however, was not in the least degree disadvantageous to the Megarians; the Athenians even fortified the port of Nisaea for them, and connected it by means of two long walls (μακρὰ σκέλη) with Megara, which was a lasting advantage until the time of Antigonus Gonatas.

In the mean time, Pericles had come forward at Athens. Cimon was growing old, and a new generation of more or less important men was rising; they were not of the same age, and Pericles was one of the younger among them. It was about Olymp. 80 and afterwards, that Pericles came forward in the history of Athens; and this is the period to the consideration of which we shall now proceed.

END OF VOLUME I.

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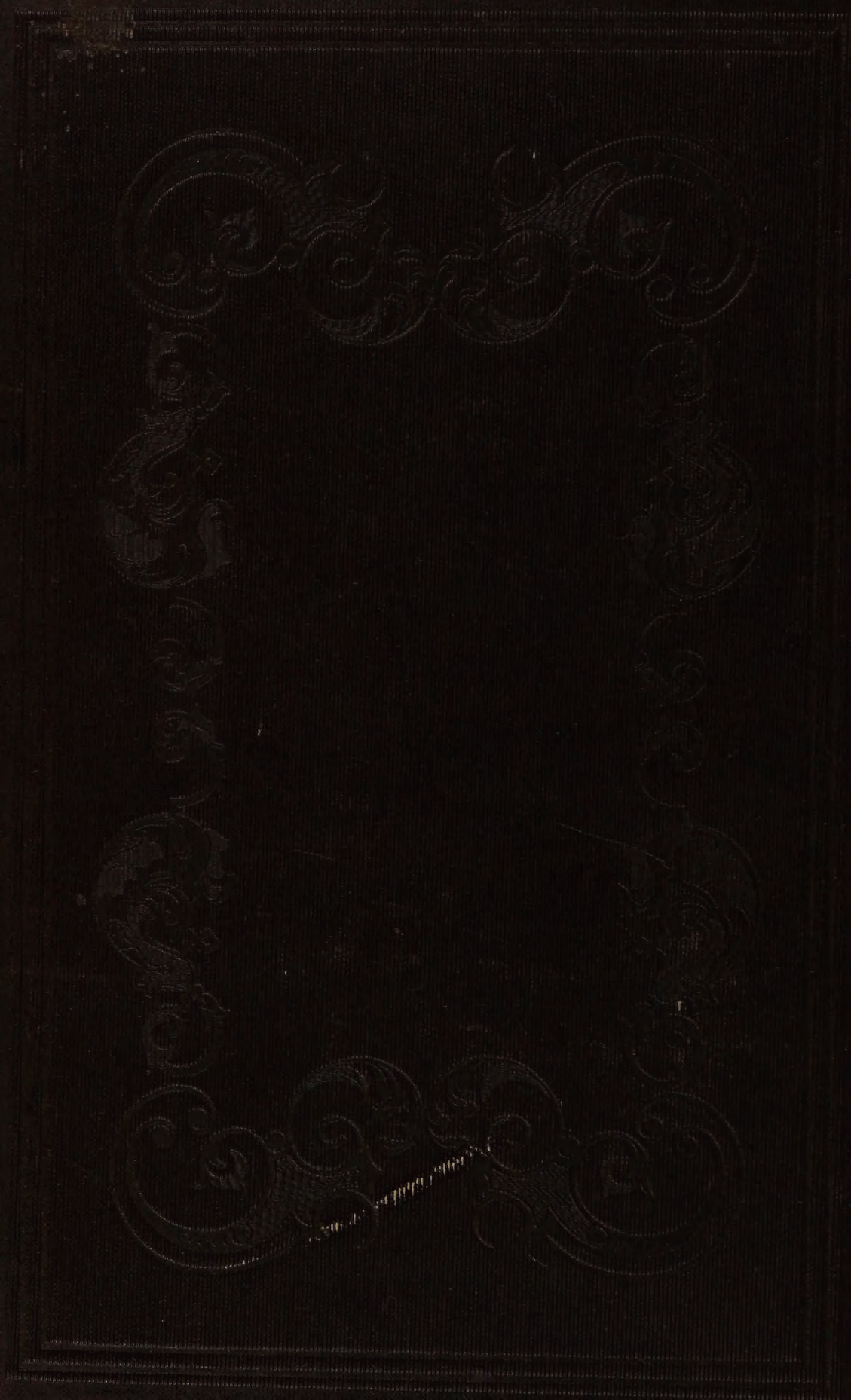
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